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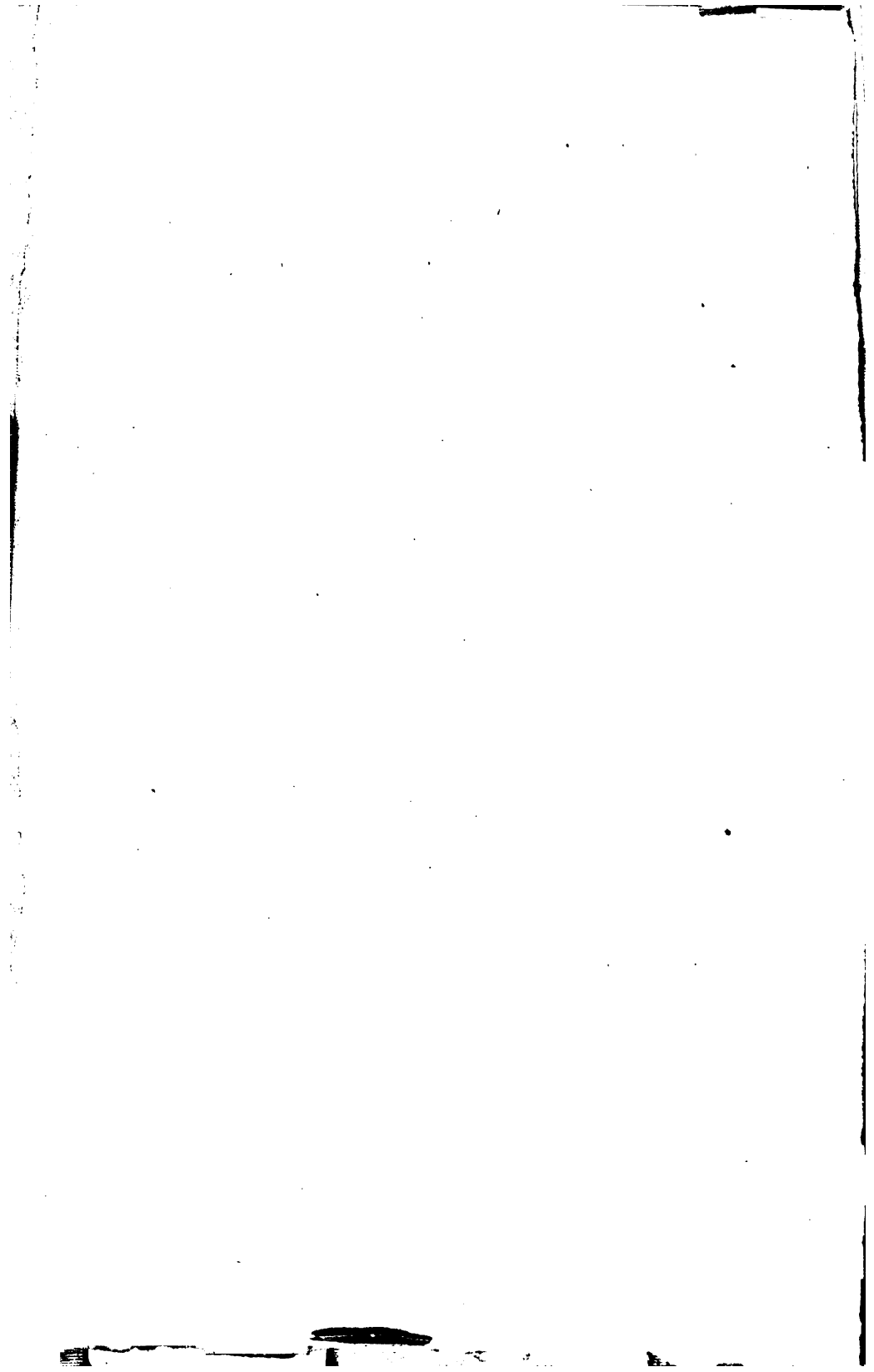
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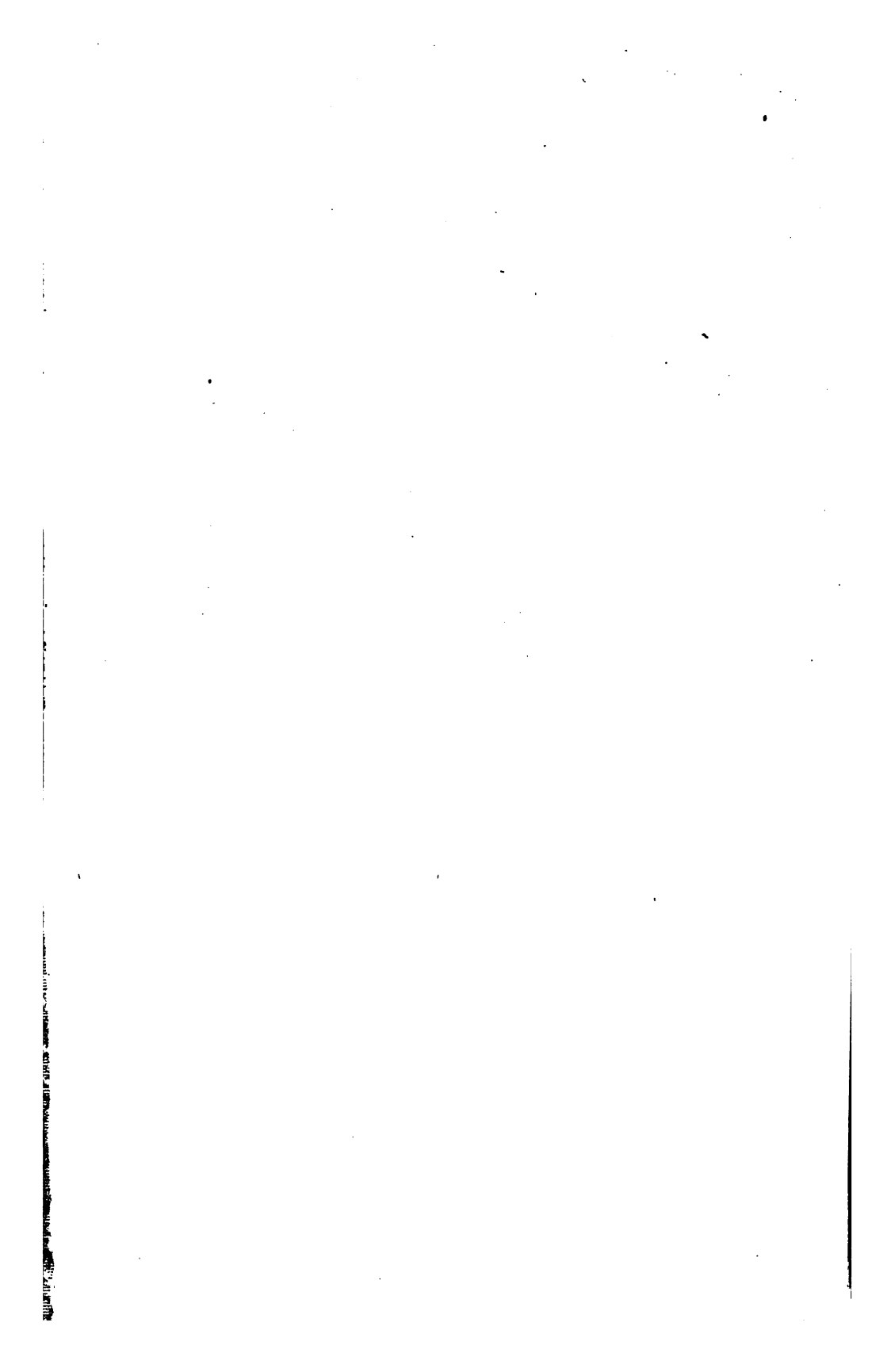
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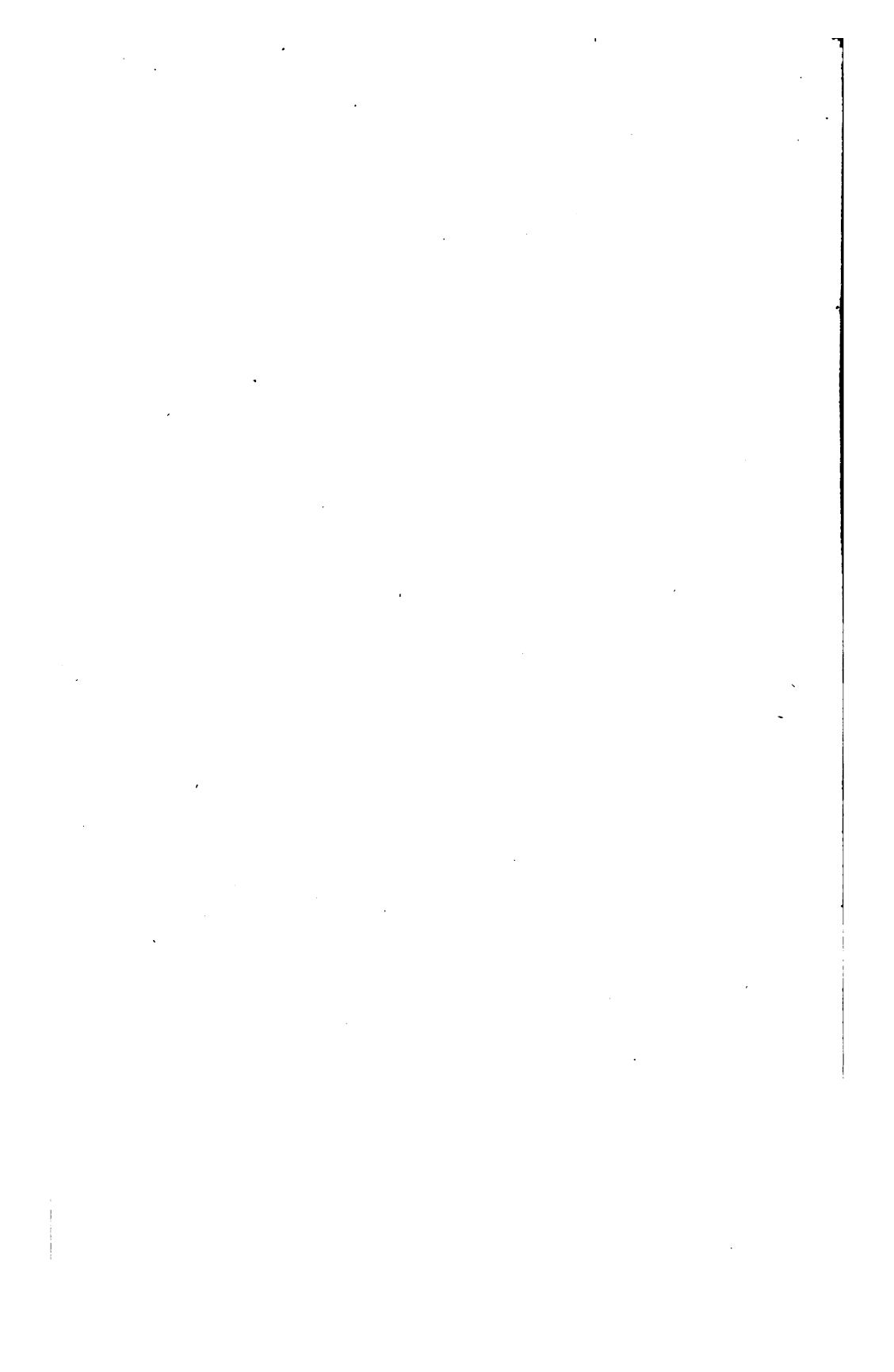
The Author

21 Oct. 1893

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A NOVEL PROPOSITION.

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REVOLUTIONIZING THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.
FARM PRODUCTS MOVED AS MAIL MATTER AT
A UNIFORM RATE FOR ALL DISTANCES.

OF INTEREST ALIKE TO AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURE,
COMMERCE AND LABOR.

From

BY DAVID LUBIN, SACRAMENTO, CAL.

Oct. 21, '93

*Containing Editorial Opinions and Comments from Every
Section of the Union.*

SACRAMENTO:
D. JOHNSTON & Co., PRINTERS.
1893.

LOCAL JEALOUSY.

Quite a number of otherwise clear-headed people are afflicted with the distempered sectional jealousy.

This trait often leads to narrowness of views, and hasty condemnation of worthy propositions, which are calculated to be for their best interests, but which in the haste they reject because they cannot immediately discover how their own section to be especially benefited.

A review of this pamphlet will convince the reader that my observations on sectional jealousy are based on facts. A Middle State man, for instance, objects to a proposition that will enable California to transport her wheat crop at a much lower rate than the present system will permit, believing in the theory that anything which will benefit California must prove injurious to his section. He has not taken the trouble to think out the problem in all its bearings. It is sufficient for him to conclude that whatever California may gain, his section must lose. If you ask him for a reason, he will flare up and give none, but yell at you that he knows what he is talking about. But he does not. He is simply blinded for the time by local jealousy.

It is to this class of men that I address myself in this article, in the hope that it may convince them that a general benefit for the entire country must also benefit all sections and the individuals therein. To prove that this is correct, let us take the transportation of California wheat, and note the influence transportation methods in this state has on the price of wheat in all sections of the union. To begin with, the buyer for export takes as a basis the price at Liverpool, from which he deducts the cost of transportation, and he finds the price which he is willing to offer. The higher the transportation costs, the lower the price will be offered. And if he buys at all he will buy at the price thus arrived at; never higher, but lower if possible. As soon as he can buy at the price thus fixed, then this also becomes the price at which wheat can be bought for home use, and governs the rate at which wheat is sold, not alone in California, but wherever wheat is raised in the United States. Thus, a high price for wheat transportation in California, will lower the selling price throughout the United States.

Any student of political economy will tell you this is correct. Yes, any wheat "operator" can tell you the same thing.

As soon as this is granted, we must conclude that the Postal System herein advocated will not alone prove beneficial to California, but prove to be an equal benefit to every section of the union, and that, not alone to the wheat grower, but to the storekeeper, the manufacturer, and more especially to the workingman. And when these are benefited, all others whatsoever within the United States will share in this general prosperity.

Local jealousy is, therefore, anti-progressive.

A NOVEL PROPOSITION.

evolutionizing the Distribution of Wealth.—Farm Products Moved as Mail Matter at a Uniform Rate for All Distances.

5-1187

BY DAVID LUBIN, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA.

[Reprinted from the Sacramento "Record-Union" of Sept, 14th, 1893.]



DESIGN or fortuity has conserved the results of intellectual endeavor from times past to the present, and this alone has rendered development possible.

There is perhaps no other political power on the globe whose tendency it has been to utilize the advantages of a greater degree than this nation.

As a result, the high ambition, exalted achievements, and future tendency of the American people point to a destiny singularly grand and without parallel among the nations.

This grand destiny, however, is threatened by a cause deteriorating in its influence, and has its roots in the established order of lower civilizations of other nations.

Chief among these may be noted the unjust and unequal distribution of wealth, resulting in excesses of superfluous superabundance and abject poverty, resulting in centralized despotisms.

Were it possible for this nation to escape the deteriorating influences exerted by foreign forms of government, then, in that event, the several progressive stages would be passed through, ultimately producing a maximum state of civilization, which, when once reached, would become the guiding center for all nations.

The deteriorating influences above mentioned are, however, at work, which, if not checked, must ultimately neutralize and change the current of events detrimental to a realization of ideal progress.

Material prosperity is an essential element of true progress, and agriculture is the basic foundation of lasting material prosperity.

Any cause detrimental to the realization of the maximum benefits to be derived from agriculture is a check to general and lasting development, and unless removed the deteriorating force will persist in its operation in a line of degeneration.

Those, therefore, who seek to promote the best interests of agriculture, desire to conserve the highest interests of the nation and of the individuals herein.

Chief among the deteriorating forces tending toward a degrading level in agriculture is that of foreign competition, and this competition is caused by the class of labor employed and the compensation paid therefor in Europe, and more especially in Asia and Africa.

At a time when the production of our country did not warrant our seeking a foreign market this competition was not felt to the degree that it is now. The vastly increased volume of production made it necessary for producers to seek a foreign market. The price being governed by the demand and cost of production, our producers are compelled to meet on an equal footing with the producers employing the European peasants, the fellah and fellahen of Egypt, the moujik of Russia, and the Indian and Chinese coolie.

When we consider that the peasant and the

moujik are content with ten to twenty cents a day, and the fellah and coolie with from four to ten cents a day for field labor, what wonder then that our producers are gradually but surely driven to the extremity of mortgages and ruin, and that in spite of the fact that they habitually toil a greater number of hours, live in the greatest simplicity, and as a general rule pay their labor a lesser compensation than those in other occupations?

The question is often asked, "Why do farmers forsake their farms, and why do they and their sons flock to the city?"

Those who ask these questions generally answer them themselves, and as a rule berate the farmer and his sons for their supposed disregard for the beauties of nature.

Upon proper inquiry these questioners would learn that the reason why farmers and their sons flock to the city is because farming, as a general rule, is an unprofitable occupation, and that there is no prospect for its becoming profitable and remaining so.

That as soon as farming could be made profitable, the farmer and his son would not alone cheerfully remain on the farm, but that very many city people would flock to the farm and stay there.

The question of competition with coolie and fellah labor is not the only one confronting the producer; the question of transportation is equally important.

It is complained that the arbitrary and often exorbitant rates of transportation have been the fruitful source of many grievous hindrances toward progress, but greater than all these is the singular phase of distance competition.

To illustrate: A manufactured article made in Jersey City to be sold there for thirty-five dollars, when sent to Chicago, has say two dollars added, and to San Francisco say five dollars added for cost of freight (which the consumer pays for, with an additional profit added on the outlay of the freight by the merchant), but of two producers, one living within ten miles of the market and another living three hundred or three thousand miles from the market, the product of both (if the same) will bring the same price in spite of the fact that the cost of transportation was for the former five dollars and for the other fifty dollars.

We may say to this that the distance from market governs the price of land. As the conditions are now this is true, but the question remains—is it right?

Merchants, as a rule, deal in merchandise, the value of which is unknown, and can, therefore, fix any arbitrary price thereon to suit their convenience and their ideas of profit. Now, even under these favorable circumstances, would they be willing to sell a piano, a plow, a hat, or an ostrich feather at the same price in the city of its production and at a distance of hundreds or thousands of miles? No, indeed; the freight and the profit on the freight would be added to the selling price.

Now, what a merchant is not willing to do with an

article, the selling price of which is an unknown quantity to the public, the farmer is compelled to do with products so staple that he is in luck if he receives but the price quoted in a thousand price currents.

The fact that land near a market is more valuable than land a great distance from it has not nearly as much to do with the true prosperity of the nation as if the land near and far were of equal value. In other words, the citizen living near New York is not of any more value to the republic than is one of California or Kansas, and when conditions confer a benefit on the citizen near New York at the expense of a citizen of Ohio or California it is a wrong, and this wrong, if permitted to continue, must in time produce evil effects. This wrong is nowhere more manifest than in the United States, for no other country has such vast distances to traverse before reaching its ultimate market.

To simply point out the difficulties under which agriculture labors, and that alone, is not my sole object, for this has been done often, and by abler minds. What I propose to do is to offer a remedy, as follows:

To meet the competitive coolie and peasant labor I would recommend national legislation to the effect that all lands owned and worked by American citizens, or those intending to become such, shall not be subject to any governmental tax of any kind. Rented lands, lands owned by aliens, or lands not under cultivation shall, however, be taxed as now.

To meet the transportation question, I would suggest national legislation that would change our present method of product transportation to the same system as now in operation by the United States postoffice in the forwarding of mail matter, and in charge of that department.

To illustrate: A fruit-grower at San Rafael wishes to send five hundred pounds of peaches to San Francisco. He obtains a stamp at his postoffice (which may be say three times the size of a postal card, and on pasteboard); he attaches same to one of his crates and delivers same to the postal clerk at railroad company's depot. Say the value of the stamp is one dollar. Another grower in Chico also wishes to send a like quantity of peaches to the same destination, and he too obtains a one dollar stamp, and the fruit is forwarded the same way. A third grower in Sacramento county wishes to forward a like quantity to New York, and he likewise obtains a one dollar stamp and the fruit goes on to New York.

In short, land products in their natural state are to be forwarded in any quantity to any destination just the same as other mail matter and subject to similar conditions.

When it is considered that paper-covered books and other "literature" is sent by the publisher to any part of the United States in any quantity at one cent per pound, or one dollar per hundred, and that this "literature" is forwarded on fast trains, then, in that event, the proposition here offered is only new to the extent that farm products take an equal rank with literature.

The two remedies proposed at first glance may seem to many as highly impracticable, and even absurd, but all that is asked here is a little patience and careful attention, and the probabilities are that a sufficient element of agreement may be found that may lead to ultimate concurrence, and if not in the plan herein proposed in some other more available.

That agriculture is the very corner-stone of our national prosperity is beyond a question a fact. That it should receive prime consideration in legislative action conducive to its successful prosecution is apparent, but in reality we find other and less important interests much more carefully fostered. Manufacture, for instance, is maintained by a protective tariff, and that not alone against the coolie labor of China or India, but even of the higher-priced labor of Great Britain, France and Germany.

I will now proceed to submit some of the objections offered against these propositions: The first is

that it is a species of socialism. Reply: If protection against Indian and Chinese coolie labor is socialism, then is protection against British, German and French labor a greater degree of socialism. Conclusion: If one is bad, the other is worse. We not all admit that the success of all other industries whatever are dependent upon the success of agriculture?

Commerce, industry, finance, the arts, the professions and science, all these are firmly seated on the broad shoulders of agriculture. This mighty giant carries the tremendous burden. "The straw broke the camel's back," and as this "mighty giant" is human it behooves that care be taken that he be not overloaded, for his strength is the strength of the nation, and his decline is the decline of interests of civilization. When he staggers, countless numbers congest in city tenements, and who he groans the threatening form of the proletariat with his detested bloody ensign and his destructible bomb, appears in view, and with God-cursing and law-despising harangue urges on to blood and fire in vain the Gatling gun, in vain the bayonet; the shall be thrust aside like a reed in the hands of a child, just as soon as our overburdened giant strength gives way. Remove his burdens and see the beneficent rays of prosperity will encircle him being, and then thousands and hundreds of the sands, yes, millions, will crawl out of their city dens and eagerly seek a home in the country, as praise God when they have found it, and then "each man shall sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree and there shall no one make him afraid."

To return to our proposition, the free tax on practically free freight. Will this not represent vast sums? Will it not foot up into hundreds of millions of dollars? Yes, it is the removal of the vast sum, these hundreds of millions of dollars from the shoulders of this patient, overburdened giant that shall give him new vigor, greater strength and a lasting foundation. Upon whom then will fall the burden of these millions? Upon all who are not farmers.

Will they not object? Yes, some, until they have been convinced that it is in their interests not to object. Some will object through selfishness and others through misunderstanding.

Would it be just to take from the burdens of one and place it on the other? If it is unjust to protect agriculture, then it is even more unjust to protect manufacture. We protect American cutlery against English cutlery, American cloaks against German cloaks. Then why not American agricultural products against the peasant and coolie labor of Europe, Asia and Africa?

Suppose the present administration should remove the tariff from shoes and manufactured cottons, what would follow? What but in less than a year thousands of factories would be in operation in China and shoes, overalls, underwear, hosiery and bedspreads would come from there, and at a much lower price than we ever have had them? What a howl of dismay would be heard from the hundreds of thousands of idle operatives thrown out of employment here, and of ruined manufacturers with useless "plants" on their hands.

Now, when we consider that these same operatives and their employers are all dependent for work and profit upon the success of agriculture, is it not a wonder that they alone are protected, and agriculture alone is left to the tender mercies of a condition which governs the price of their product by the price of a similar product produced by coolie labor, at from four to ten cents a day?

It may be asked how it came about that the manufacturer managed to so thoroughly protect his interests, while the farmer was practically left to shift on his own hook. The reason may be found in the greater shrewdness of the manufacturer, and his greater ability to avail of political means to his ends. Concentrated, as the manufacturers are, in great centers, they could in a few hours assemble for mutual assistance. Representing, as they did, millions of capital, their resolutions carried an irresistible influence in legislation. Their many

thousands of employes could also present that solid argument in the form of a united organization, vehemently advocating the interests of their employes, and this political influence became irresistible, and their cry of "protection" became law.

The farmer had no such advantages; in fact, he has not got them yet, and may never have them; and if he had a "cry" at all it was "Free Trade," and in this he was peculiarly unfortunate, for it was unpopular, and there is nothing more calculated to injure a political faction than an unpopular cry. The farmer wasted his strength in frantic but futile efforts at ameliorating his condition, and yet he is as far off from his goal as ever. In sheer despair he affiliates with all sorts of political scum, in the vain hope that relief may come from somewhere, somehow, a pitiable spectacle to God and man, well climaxed when the political pirate on stump calls him "nature's nobleman," and behind his back "clod-hopper" and "jay."

So will it ever be, if the conditions permit it. Shall it so remain? God forbid.

Would it not be better for the destinies of this Republic that agriculture should live, and that manufacture should perish, if one must perish at all?

Will not the great increase of wealth into cities, gained at the expense and ruin of agriculture on the one hand, and the constant concentration of homeless and houseless millions into cities, require a strong central government? The strong central government, once here, and the days of the Republic are numbered.

Awake from your stupor, O potent giant, and with your mightiest effort endeavor to throw off the burdens which tend to crush, and let your cry be "Protection! Protection to Industry, and Protection to Agriculture!" The political pirate will tell you that agriculture is already protected, that there is a tariff on raw material, but answer that the present

method of protection, while it protects the manufacturer, does not and cannot protect you; for, while the ultimate customer of the manufacturer is the American citizen, yours is the European Exchange; that while the manufacturer fixes any price on his product that may suit his whim or convenience, that your prices are determined by the coolie labor of Asia and the peasant of Europe, and that you seek protection against these.

Any system of protective tariff cannot overcome that; that the only remedy for relief must be in the nature of an internal rebate system on taxes and transportation. The millions rebated will counteract the evil effects of coolie and peasant labor, as no other method can. It is the only real kind of protection possible for the condition. Will the workingman consent to be taxed with the additional tax from which you expect to be freed? Yes, assuredly he will, as soon as you demonstrate that by his doing so it will secure him a greater possibility of a steady demand for labor than is now possible.

Will the merchant agree to it? Yes; for the additional tax to him by this method will enhance your value as a customer.

Will the manufacturer agree to it? Yes; and for the same reason as the merchant. Will the man of bonds and mortgages agree to it? Yes, when it can be demonstrated that his bonds and mortgages will then possess a greater degree of security.

To be sure, there may be many rabid objectors nevertheless, but what will these avail if the majority should favor?

How may this be accomplished? Three words may suffice for the initial stage. Agitate, educate and organize, and when all this has been done endeavor to win the indorsement and co-operation of the two great political parties, and if you fail, form a national party of your own.

INTRODUCTORY.

I deem it proper to briefly explain the reason of this publication. The past twenty years has been a season of active commercial and agricultural experiences with me, and the problems of transportation have ever been uppermost in my mind.

The proposition I advocate is not the result of theory and book learning alone, but this together with experience and observation.

After mature deliberation, I have come to the conclusion that my plan offers a remedy for evils existing under present conditions, and which enlightened intelligence should reform.

Believing as I do that my conclusions—should they be adopted—would be of benefit to my State and to my country, I deem it my duty to make them known, and to this end publish 30,000 of these pamphlets for distribution throughout the Union.

I do this because my first article in the *Record-Union* of September 14th, created that wide-spread and deep interest justifying the broadening of the field of information.

If sufficient interest is taken in the matter, the writer will be encouraged to continue writing on the same subject, with the ultimate view that it may become a national issue. And in order that he may ascertain the extent of

the interest taken, he has left a space below to serve as a kind of ballot, to be filled in and sent to him at the earliest date possible. In addition to forwarding the ballots, the writer would be pleased to have full opinions in writing for or against the proposition.

All communications on this subject, in order to receive attention, should be addressed to D. LUBIN (care Weinstock, Lubin, & Co.), Sacramento, Cal. Communications will be answered as promptly as the time of the writer will permit.

Those desiring extra copies, for distribution among friends at home or abroad, will be accommodated by sending in names and address, and the number of copies desired.

The writer suggests that portions of the new proposition be read at Grange and Alliance meetings, social assemblages, and especially at Labor Unions, and in family and neighborhood gatherings.

While, from the title of the proposition, it would seem that it addresses itself to the interests of farmers only, yet a glance at one or two of the articles will convince the reader that it is intended to be of interest to every one, especially to those who love their country.

Parents can do a great service to their children

dren by reading to them the various articles, and, after explanations, asking for opinions. By so doing, they may thereby implant a taste for further inquiry in the direction of political economy, a study which, in time, might prove serviceable indeed.

Should a sufficient interest be manifest in any community on the subject, then there is no reason why an association may not be formed to further the object in view, and for uniformity's sake the writer has adopted for the present as the title for such organization, "The National Progress Association of ——." The name of "Tax and Transit Association" has also been suggested as appropriate. Readers who take a sufficient interest in the matter are requested to suggest a name in their judgment more appropriate.

While it is true that it may take twenty to forty years for the final bringing into life of the proposition advocated, yet that should not discourage those who desire to seek their country's welfare. For are they not enjoying the benefits of the toil of those who labored for them, even before they were born?

It would not be surprising, however, should this proposition become a reality in a few years. For it can become so by political effect, and this proposition, more than any other, is calculated to unite the farmers of the north, south, east, and west; and this united power, if joined by that of labor, could soon obtain the end in view.

This is especially a fine field for our young men whose dormant energies could be devel-

oped, and to whom victory would give imperishable renown.

The task is not easy, but those who are fond of easy tasks are seldom crowned with victory.

BALLOT.

Please cut out this ballot and return to D. LUBIN, care of Weinstock, Lubin & Co., Sacramento, Cal. The ballot is to find out whether readers are for or against this proposition of having farm products forwarded by the U. S. Government, through the Post Office Department, at an even rate for any distance; and for exemption from taxation of farming lands owned and worked by American citizens, or those intending to become such.

For or Against
the Proposition

Name

Town

County

State

LABOR AND ITS INTERESTS.

[Reprinted from the Sacramento "Bee" of Sept. 30, 1893.]

A short time ago the writer handed an article on the proposition of forwarding farm products by the U. S. Government through the Post Office Department, and the exemption from taxation of the lands of American citizens owning and cultivating lands, to a mechanic (a carpenter), and asked his opinion on the same.

The mechanic read it through carefully, and handing it back said: "I suppose it will interest farmers. It ought to, anyway."

I then asked him if it would not interest workingmen—wage-earners—and he said: "I do not think so, for the proposition appears to center on the question of freight rates, and their reductions;" and he further said: "I cannot at present see how your proposition has any bearing on the questions confronting the wage-earner."

Continuing my interrogations, I asked him who it was that gave him employment, and he named a well-known contractor as his "boss."

"Does he really give you work," I asked; "to which he replied: "Yes, whenever there is work to do."

"Do you have work to do the year around?" I asked; and he replied: "No; whenever there is work my 'boss' gives me a job."

It would then appear that your "boss" is not your "boss" after all; but that your "boss" has a "boss" that gives him work, and when that other "boss" gives your "boss" a job, he calls on you to help him, and thus becomes for the time your "boss."

"It is a strange way to put it, but you are right," he replied."

"Properly speaking," I said: "Your real

'boss' is the 'boss' that gives your 'boss' work. This is what makes your 'boss' a 'boss'; is this not correct?"

"I never heard it put that way before; but you are right."

Now, pray, tell me the name of your bosses' boss?

He smiled and thought, and smiled and thought, and was about to give it up, when, as if by a sudden inspiration, he said: "The citizens generally."

"You are right," I said. "But tell me why do the citizens generally only employ your boss at times; why not at all times?"

"Because they do not need work done," he replied.

"There are times, then, when all carpentering that ought to be done is done?"

"Well, hardly. Times may be dull sometimes, you know."

A. "Why are times dull?"

B. "Because people have not got money, I suppose."

A. "Why have they not got money?"

B. "Because they did not get it, I suppose."

A. "Get it from whom?"

B. "How do I know? Yes; come to think of it, the storekeepers are not selling enough goods; did not earn enough profit to warrant making improvements."

A. "To whom do the storekeepers sell?"

B. "To their customers."

A. "Who are their customers—the city people or the country people?"

B. "Both; but I should think that the majority of the trade really came from the country."

A. "You are right. Now tell me what would happen if all the country people that generally trade with a city were suddenly to do absolutely no business with them of any kind, for say a year?"

B. "Why, unless they could make up the loss in some other direction, that city would certainly become bankrupt and deserted."

A. "It would not be a good place at that time to seek for a job at fair wages, would it?"

B. "No; nor at any wages; there would be no work at any price."

A. "Now, what would happen if, through some atmospheric change, the surface of the earth was rendered impotent to yield any vegetation, would we still be able to make a living by employment in carpentering, or tinsmithing, plumbing, or in machine shops, or in mining?"

B. "Until our stored-up food was exhausted some work would be done; but if this continued we should all perish."

A. "Have we not, then, learned that vegetation is the means of sustaining life, and that farm products is the source of employment, of wages?"

B. "Yes."

A. "The farmer, then, is the real 'boss,' the 'boss' of your 'boss,' is he not?"

B. "I must admit it."

A. "Does it not follow that if the farmer has money to spend, that there is a brisk trade, many improvements, plenty of work, and that wages are then firm?"

B. "It surely does."

A. "The welfare of the farmer, then, is a prime factor in work and wages, is it not?"

B. "Certainly."

A. "Now, then, if a farmer has no money, it may be because he has previously squandered it, may it not? Suppose, however, that the farmers of an entire county, or of the entire State, have no money, to what would you attribute the cause?"

B. "To a failure of crops, perhaps."

A. "Suppose there was no failure of crops, what then?"

B. "To low prices, I suppose."

A. "Who fixes the prices?"

B. "I do not know; can you tell me?"

A. "I think I can. The price is governed not alone by demand, but primarily by cost of production. And as farm products in this country may be divided into staples and non-staples—each governed by a different law of value—I shall be obliged to treat each separately, in order to give you a proper answer." Staple products, such as we raise in this country, are largely raised in India, China, Russia, Asia Minor and North Africa. The wages in those countries are from four to fifteen cents a day, and the price of their products is governed by the cost of production. This price is generally arrived at in the great produce exchanges in Liverpool and London, and whatever price is fixed there becomes the price everywhere, is our price here."

B. "But we have near seventy million people in this country. Does the foreign price rule here for what we use as well?"

A. "It does; for if you wanted grain for a California flour mill and I wanted grain for export, we would both buy at the same price, would we not? Or would you care to pay more?"

B. "I would not; but it seems to me you have forgotten that we have a protective tariff."

A. "I have not forgotten; but you are in error when you think that the protective tariff is of any use whatever in exports; it is only of use for imports and for the protection of home manufactures."

B. "Yes, you are right; but if manufacture is protected by a tariff, why is there not some kind of protection for the export products, in order to protect the producers here as well as the manufacturers?"

A. "Because, as I told you before, the tariff is of no value whatever to protect exports."

B. "But if the conclusions we came to before are correct, that the welfare of the farmer is a prime factor in work and wages, it follows that, if the producer of staples has no protection, he is driven into competition with the lowest-priced labor in the world, and, as he is compelled, in addition to this, to pay the highest price for field labor here, his earnings must necessarily be small. Does it not so follow?"

A. "Yes; and this is the reason why he may often raise a large crop and yet lose money. But this is not all; for, in addition to the low prices he is compelled to receive for his product, by reason of competition with the lowest-priced labor countries, he is compelled to pay for a very large part of the cost for the protective tariff on imports and on the increased price of home manufacture caused thereby."

B. "It seems to me that it looks as if it were heaping on insult to injury in his case, does it not?"

A. "Yes, it seems so: in fact, it is so."

B. "If this is true (and I now believe it is) it may largely account for the periods of stringency, scarcity in the opportunities of labor, and the downward tendency of wages, does it not?"

A. "Yes; and it will be more so as soon as the cheap labor countries introduce modern implements and machinery. And this is largely the case already. I have myself seen, in 1884, fellah laborers working land on the Nile in Egypt with steam power, and in India English land owners are introducing the most approved agricultural appliances."

B. "If this is true, the time must come when the farmer of staples will receive still less for his product than the average he now receives, and this will, in turn, reduce the opportunity for labor, and lower wages; will it not?"

A. "It seems so."

B. "Can we not abandon the raising of staples?"

A. "No; for it is the greater portion of our production."

B. "Is there no remedy?"

A. "Yes; I pointed out the remedy in the paper I handed you and which you read. I asked you if it would interest workingmen, wage-earners, and you said you did 'not think so.' Do you remember?"

B. "Yes, but I fail to see it even yet. Will you please state it now?"

A. "Certainly. It is that the United States government transport all farm products to the general ultimate market, at a fixed rate for any distance, and at a nominal price. The United States government to use her own vessels or railroads, or to hire it carried, paying the ruling rate for transportation, but charging the producer a nominal rate as postal, the difference to inure to the producer. The saving to the farmer will enable him to successfully compete with the cheaper labor of foreign countries, and yet give him a profit. He will continue to make a profit as long as the other nations do not do the same thing, which they cannot do because of the enormous costs to them for their standing armies, navies, and for their kings."

B. "Well, this plan seems plausible, but I see a defect in it. It is this: If farming becomes profitable, will not foreign and home capitalists buy up the land, and establish thereon tenants, who will be squeezed to the lowest earnings by the landlords, and thereby cause a still greater decline in wages than under present conditions?"

A. "Yes, that would surely happen unless prevented; and, if you read over my paper again, you will find a clause, that all lands owned and cultivated by American citizens, or those intending to become such, shall be exempt from taxation, but lands owned by aliens, or those whereon there is a renter, shall be taxed. The exemption of farming lands owned and worked by American citizens, and the great general tax caused by the postal carriage of farm products, will tend to increase the tax rate so high on lands owned by aliens, uncultivated lands, and those worked by renters, that in a short time such lands must find their way into the possession of owners, American citizens, who will do their own cultivating."

B. "But this increased tax, caused by exemption and by government postal carriage of

products, will that not fall very heavy on labor?"

A. "No, it will scarcely be felt, if at all. For, first of all, as soon as the large land holdings can no more be farmed profitably, they will be sold to actual settlers, and these settlers will multiply so rapidly that there will be many more to help pay the tax."

B. "How can that be? Will not the multiplication of these settlers tend to increase the general tax for carriage of the additional farm products that will be raised?"

A. "True, but manufacture and commerce will then be in such a flourishing condition that the tax will scarcely be felt."

B. "I have certainly been convinced with the reasonableness of your arguments up to now. But you have yet to convince me why the greater portion of your great tax, according to your proposition, will not fall almost entirely on labor. And I may add, if you convince me that labor will be benefited, I will certainly be in favor of your plan; but until you do, I will consider it as dangerous to the interest of wage earners."

A. "I think we will both be safe as long as we hold to the truth, therefore assent to nothing unless you can receive it with conviction."

B. "I certainly shall do as you say."

A. "To make clearer my argument I shall use an illustration: Imagine you see before you a car, the car of 'Progress,' harnessed to which are spirited horses called 'Nineteenth-century.' The driver is called 'Civilization,' and in his hand is a whip called 'Law.' Now note: on the box is comfortably seated a man called 'Financier,' and next to him a man called 'Land Grabber,' *alias* 'Mortgagor,' *alias* 'Land-letter-for-Rent.' In the car is a man called 'Manufacturer,' and another man called 'Commerce,' and another man called 'The Professions.' All the men named are fine looking and richly dressed. At the rear of the car and fastened to it with a chain around his neck is a strong man bearing a great burden on his shoulder. He is poorly dressed, and has careworn features. His name is 'Farmer.' Behind 'Farmer' is an uncouth looking giant, with an iron chain around his neck, the other end of which is fastened around the waist of 'Farmer' and like 'Farmer' he carries a great burden. The giant is dressed in humble garb. His face is begrimed and wrinkled. His name is 'Labor.' Now, then, seat yourself with me on this buckboard called 'Observation,' and let us follow the car when she starts for the day's journey.

'Ge'long,' says 'Civilization,' as he cracks his whip, and away they go. The road is level and for a time all is well. But presently a steep hill is reached, and the sweat soon rolls down the faces of 'Farmer' and 'Labor.' In the steep descent which follows 'Labor' and 'Farmer' are pushed by the momentum toward the rear of the car with considerable force. 'Get back there, you rascals,' shout the occupants of the car in a chorus; 'don't come near us, you scum, or we will give you a taste of the whip.' Again they reach level land, and the car speeds on, and now comes a high, craggy ascent, steep and precipitous, and with redoubled effort 'Farmer' and 'Labor' patiently and laboriously toil upward. 'Let me take a seat in the car,' moans 'Farmer,' 'I can't keep up much longer, my strength is failing me.' 'I am almost exhausted, let me ride on the step if you will not let me inside the car,' cries 'Labor.' No attention is paid to them by those in the car, and presently 'Farmer' stumbles, and in falling pulls 'Labor' with him, and together they roll over jagged rocks, and pass through pools of mire; blood, sweat, and filth cover them. With almost superhuman effort they regain their feet, and enraged beyond endurance, 'Labor' seizes a huge flint with the intention of hurling it at the heartless men in the car. 'Finance' and 'Land-Grabber' observing this, become alarmed, and cry to the driver: 'Quick! Lash the curs with your whip, or they will hurl the stone at us; they might kill us.' At that moment the sound of a trumpet is heard, and from around the angle of a sharp curve appears a majestic being, God-like in presence and Divine in influence. 'I am Justice,' she cries, 'and I command you to halt.' At the command of Justice the car stops. 'Plead your case and I will decide,' Justice said; and thereat all began speaking at once, and a confused jumble of threats and mutual accusations filled the air. 'Silence!' cried Justice. 'Let there be order, and after my direction.' And each in turn stated his side of the case. But scarce had the trial begun, when 'Finance' and 'Land-Grabber' volunteered to help the prosecution. 'I do not need your services,' said Justice, and the trial finally came to a conclusion. 'My decision,' said Justice, 'is that 'Farmer' and 'Labor' take a seat in the car, this seat to be theirs by right from to-day, and for all time.' 'There is no room,' cried those in the car. 'Then some of you had better come out and take the place of 'Farmer.' Come, 'Land-Grabber', you will do,' and the

others, seeing 'Land-Grabber's' fate, cried, 'There is room enough; we will move closer together,' and 'Farmer' and 'Labor' took their seats in the car. Then did Justice remove their iron chains, and instead bound 'Farmer' and 'Labor' with a golden chain called 'Our interests are mutual,' and placing in their possession a magic wand called the 'Ballot,' said, 'Be governed by the whip called 'Law,' but with the wand 'Ballot' you can at any time temper its direction to ward off wrong. The golden chain that binds you together must never be removed, for only when united is your magic wand 'Ballot' potent. Justice, having delivered her decision, took the seat made vacant by 'Land-Grabber', and the car continued on its journey."

B. "I see what you mean; the illustration is intended to show that by the adoption of your proposition, there will be a re-distribution of wealth."

A. "I mean that my proposition will provide the farmer with that just share of return which he is justly entitled to, by paying back to him, in the form of savings on transportation, what he is compelled to pay out for protection. This will place him and you on the car of progress. This, together with the free tax, will enable him to lay by a surplus fund, and this surplus fund will buy labor."

B. "I freely admit the point. Yes, I will have more labor, but also more taxes, won't I?"

A. "Clear headed business men, when estimating a profit, do not judge the result by any one factor; they judge by the net return, and the question for you to decide is, whether the present conditions can give you steadier work, and at higher pay than the new proposition."

B. "No sir, I do not agree with you yet; the new conditions may give me steadier work at higher wages—which I admit it will—but if the surplus is eaten up by taxes, what do I gain?"

A. "Nothing, if the tax consumes it; but will it? In the first place there is a large percentage of labor who pay but a poll tax; secondly, another large proportion are on the assessment list for nominal amounts, paying from one to five dollars a year. Now, even should this new proposition double the tax rate of the country (which it would certainly not do), even then will not labor be a great gainer in its steady demand and upward ten-

dency? But more than that. Millions and millions of idle wealth are now locked up in vast tracts of land which might as well be in China as here. My proposition will unlock this wealth, and presently this development alone will be more than able to pay the entire tax for postal transportation on farm products, not by the land owners who will own and work their lands, but by the citizens of the vast cities, the innumerable villages, the enormously increased financial, commercial, and manufacturing interests that will be built up. Observe, in a season when there is a normal rainfall, the Sierras are covered with snow, but a few abnormally warm days in the early spring melt the snow, and the torrents rush down on the valley, threatening inundation. The snow is nearly gone from the mountains, and the torrid days come on, your well becomes dry, and the leaves droop, and your crop is ruined. On the other hand, when the mountains are covered with an abundant layer of snow, the scorching heat of the sun but puts a redder blush on the fruits, for there is moisture for the roots, and the crop is supreme in its perfection. Now, whenever money is hoarded up by the land-grabber, by the financier, the manufacturer, and by commerce—at the expense of agriculture—then labor is in the condition of the fruit when there is no snow on the mountains. But whenever the conditions shall be made to conform to my proposition—when agriculture shall have its just due—when it shall, like manufactures, be protected, then the fount of plenty will drip over, and labor will receive its ample and merited share, and not before."

B. "I confess I have no longer a single objection to offer."

A. "But others will, and I caution you to beware of sophists, whose interest it will be to spread ridicule on this proposition."

B. "I will take good care to have them give me as good reasons as I have compelled you to give me before I change my mind."

A. "There is yet the matter of non-staple products, and the reason why they should be transported by the same methods as the staples, but you will find the arguments set forth in the paper I gave you. Apply the results of our discussion on those arguments, and you will no doubt come to the same conclusion."

D. LUBIN.

Communicated opinions, with and without comments, will be published in next month's edition of a similar pamphlet. Thirty thousand copies will be printed and distributed free throughout the United States.

COMMUNICATIONS AND CRITICISMS.

Reply to "Themis," Sacramento.

SACRAMENTO, Sept. 25, 1893.

EDITOR THEMIS: Your issue of September 23d contains a criticism on my proposition as contained in the *Record-Union* of September 14th.

If your answer is final and conclusive as it stands, then are we to understand that my proposition is unnecessary because the conditions do not warrant it?

Are we to understand that those who say that wealth is being absorbed and accumulated into cities, at the expense of agriculture, are wrong?

Are we to say, in spite of the steady and constant impoverishment of the agricultural class, the Republican institution, built up a little over a century ago, will continue to persist in the direction of progress?

Are we to say that under present conditions the tendency is to eliminate poverty, and for an equitable distribution of wealth? If so, then it is high time to rebuke such statements as are made by Adam Smith, Ricardo, Reade, Malthus, John Stuart Mill, Macaulay, Hyndman, La Salle, Marx, Herbert Spencer, Henry George, and thousands of others. It is then high time for the appearance of an ample and complete vindication of the existing conditions, showing that they are as just and equitable as they can or should be, and that they tend in the direction of the highest good. But, Mr. Editor, you have attempted no such vindication. Hence, I infer that you admit that the evil conditions exist; that you could offer no remedy, but contented yourself in overthrowing the one I offer. The question remains—Have you overthrown it? By no means, as we shall see later on.

I will now proceed to answer your criticism. You say in relation to the value of a citizen: "Unless he wishes to be understood as intending to convey the idea that a man is merely a productive machine, whose value depends upon the market price of his product." No; not that exactly, but this: The chief end of civilization should be the material welfare of the individual, for a progressive state can best be conserved thereby. Now, it matters little how valuable the products produced by the citizen are, but it matters much what net return the individual receives as his share for wages or profit. An Indian coolie may work on cashmere shawls, that will bring \$1,000 each, and yet receive but 5 cents a day for labor. In

other words, a citizen earning \$3 00 a day is likely to be more patriotic and intelligently loyal to the state's interests than one who is compelled to seek precarious and oft-interrupted jobs of work at \$1 00 a day.

In relation to distance competition, you say: "Even if it could be done, it would not be desirable to transport a car-load of wheat with the same rapidity and at the same cost that we transmit a telegraphic message." No, indeed; but who said it would? A cargo of wheat or cotton will not object going to its ultimate market by my plan, in a freight car, steamer, sailing vessel or ferry boat, nor did I anywhere even say that wheat or cotton should be transported as rapidly as perishable products that require rapid transit.

THEMIS further says, "neither would Mr. Lubin's plan of establishing distance competition, by compelling the railroads to transport farm products for a nominal compensation, be just." No; who said it would? I did say, however, that while the government would pay the transportation company, say, \$20 to carry a given product, that it would only charge the producer, say, \$2, and the \$18 difference is to be paid in taxation, by you, Mr. Editor, and me, and the millions of others who pay taxes.

This \$18, indirectly given to the farmer, would be a return to him of the \$18 paid out by him for "protection" to manufacturers; it will be his "protection." This is plain enough, is it not? Further on, THEMIS says: "No notice is taken of the fact that the best opinion of the times is tending in the direction of the single tax." Yes, Mr. Editor, "*due notice was taken of the single tax,*" but I deny the assertion that "the best opinion is tending in that direction." It is not tending in that direction because it is not practicable, and I shall submit as evidence the statement made by Henry George himself in his book, "Progress and Poverty." How does he propose to bring about "single tax?" I will now quote from his book:

"But the question remains: How shall we do it? We should satisfy the law of justice, we should meet economic requirements, by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all lands public property, and letting it out to the highest bidder in lots to suit, under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private rights to improvement." Are the present owners to be compensated? Let us see what Mr.

George says: "One day, the Third Estate covered their heads when the King put on his hat. A little while thereafter, and the head of a son of St. Louis rolled from the scaffold. The anti-slavery movement in the United States commenced with talk of compensating owners, but when four millions of slaves were emancipated the owners got no compensation, nor did they clamor for any. And by the time the people of any such country as England or the United States are sufficiently aroused to the injustice and disadvantage of individual ownership of land, to induce them to attempt its nationalization, they will be sufficiently aroused to nationalize it in a much more direct and easy way than by purchase; they will not trouble themselves about compensating the proprietors of land."

Now, THEMIS, for argument's sake, just assemble Messrs. Land, Steinman, Rideout, Haggin, Van Voorhees, Locke, Coolot, Burke, Bohl, Beatty, Ryan, Scheld, Cox, Steffins, Yorke, and Clark (all reputable citizens well known to you). Read the above quotations to them; ask them if they are ready to consent that their titles to land shall be transferred to the government, and you will learn in quick time the practicable value of Mr. George's conclusion.

Should you say that if not with their consent, then against it? Well, it takes two to create a revolution as well as a bargain. Supposing force is attempted? Is it not as likely to be defeated as to defeat the owner? What if it is beaten? Will its defeat not likely cost force its liberty, and thus bring about the reign of his Majesty — the I?

Supposing force wins? Who will then be in power? Who but the creatures of force? Will the destinies of the republic be safe in their hands? Have you, Mr. THEMIS, any guarantee that even after victory the force party will carry out Mr. George's proposition?

Is it not likely that once in power they will try to perpetuate that power by mutual grants to themselves of estates so vast as to sink into insignificance such holdings as the Haggin grant? Such things have been done; don't you think they can be done again?

Supposing, however, that in some unaccountable way, Mr. George's proposition could be carried out without a bloody revolution—which appears to me an impossibility—how would it be with the man who owns \$50,000 worth of land and he has a \$25,000 mortgage on it? What is to become of the mortgage?

Again, what is to become of the hundreds of thousands of orphans, widows, and invalids,

whose sole dependence is their parcel of city or country real estate?

And now lastly, the high rate of government tax on land, will not that still add to the burden of the farmer in his competition with India and Russian labor?

If Mr. George replies by saying "No, for single tax will do away with the protective tariff," then I wish to know what is to become of labor as soon as the tariff is removed? What will prevent 90 per cent. of our shoes, textiles, hardware, and all other manufactures being made in China, by American or Chinese manufacturers, and sent to this country? Would this be the best plan to eliminate poverty? Answer these questions satisfactorily and you will not alone convert me to Mr. George's theory, but many ten thousand more besides.

This much for Henry George, and now to continue my answers to further criticisms. THEMIS says the "proposition to invoke the power of congress to exempt from taxation all cultivated farm lands owned by citizens or by persons intending to become such, is bewildering in its crudity."

As the laws stand to-day, yes; but not if a general national law is adopted. If the sovereignty of the states will prevent national legislation, then the same result may be had by state law. The exemption from taxation of certain citizens is not new, for many states now authorize by law counties and municipalities to exempt from taxation for an agreed term, certain industries, as an inducement for their establishment and continuance.

Claiming as I do that the ratio rate for distance of product transportation should be eliminated, in order to give the farmer an equitable return in the form of an internal protection, to offset the enormous cost to him of the tariff on manufacture, it follows that, if this is adopted, farming would become highly profitable, and, if profitable, would drift into the renting system. And in no better way can this pernicious and nation-destroying system be more effectually eliminated than by a tax sufficiently high to make it utterly unprofitable.

If THEMIS will take the trouble to read my proposition over again, and study it with care, it will find that the ultimate results to be attained thereby is precisely that aimed at by Henry George. And that while Mr. George's plan requires a revolution costing more blood perhaps than a dozen civil wars, my plan can be successfully put into operation by a battle of ballots.

THEMIS further says: "The farm products of

cheap foreign labor do not come into competition with the American farmer in the home market."

Chickens, turkies, eggs, butter, or hay, raised in some obscure valley in California, Arizona, or in any other State, and sold to a near mining or lumber company may not, but the great staples do.

The flouring mills, the cotton factories, the woolen mills, pay no higher rate for products for home manufacture and consumption than do the traders who buy for export.

The Liverpool and London price governs, and from that price the dealer deducts the cost for transportation, and that is the standard price wherever the product is bought. Excepting only where speculators temporarily raise or lower the price as they corner the market.

In conclusion, THEMIS says that my plan "would lower the price of our farm products both in the foreign and domestic market." I deny that this would take place, for the basis on which the world's market price is fixed is not on cost of production in the United States, but on the very much lower labor of Europe, Asia, and Africa; and unless labor declines there, the price will be maintained as now.

The concluding lines of THEMIS reads: "It is the old, old cheat of trying to enrich one class of the community by giving them that which belongs to another class."

In this THEMIS has truly described the condition that now exists in tariff protection to manufacturers, and compelling the farmer to pay for it.

The government protective tariff book-keeping at present is done by single entry, and in a manner that the political economist accountant, however expert, could not strike a trial balance between the accounts of manufacture, agriculture, and labor. I am for protection first, last, and every time, but let the "protection" protect not alone the manufacturer, but let it equally protect the farmer and working-man; and as the tariff alone cannot do this, an adjustment may be arrived at by the adoption of the plan outlined, thereby giving the farmer that just equivalent to balance the account equitably; securing to the farmer the highest net return for his product that he is entitled to. Doing this will enable the farmer to purchase the products of manufacture to a much greater extent than now; thereby labor will be in demand and at fair rates, all of which will tend to steady commerce, and as a result will follow that steady stream of prosperity conducive to the highest ends of progress. And in no other

way can this be better brought about than by giving the farmer an internal protection in the form of rebate on transportation, by forwarding his products through the U. S. Post Office Department, and in the manner already set forth.

D. LUBIN.

To the Red Bluff "News."

MR. EDITOR: Your issue of 20th contained an editorial review of my article in the *Record-Union* Sept. 14th. You close the same with the following:

"If Mr. Lubin had stopped to consider a moment, he would have discovered that he had made an unanswerable and invincible argument against protection. He has demonstrated that protection means favoritism for the manufacturer and robbery for the farmer, and has shown, too, that in the nature of things it must always be so, because the manufacturer possesses advantages over the producer which cannot be overcome.

"The only remedy for this is justice, and justice consists in equality. Equality between the manufacturer and the producer can only be secured by taking from the manufacturer the advantages he possesses which enable him to legislate for the benefit of his class. To correct this wrong and place them on the same level, the protective features must be eliminated from our tariff legislation, and our tariff laws must be reduced to a revenue basis. If this be done and done well, the charge of class favoritism will no longer lie at the door of the government, and when it shall have learned to treat all citizens with impartiality and equality, it will have become well nigh perfect."

Now, Mr. Editor, if, as you claim, I made "an unanswerable and invincible argument against protection," you must also admit that I made "an unanswerable and invincible argument against free trade." Toward the close of my article, I said, "and let your cry be protection; protection to industry and protection to agriculture." This surely does not sound like a free trade cry.

At the present stage in the history of civilization, and with the very unequal political and social conditions surrounding us, it would perhaps lead to irretrievable retrogression were we to open our ports to the nations of the earth. That England has done so is true; but whether England is benefited thereby may be questioned. But England can probably withstand internal pressures which this nation could not. And even England's power to resist may suddenly give way, and when it does—chaos.

Were free trade established here, it would take but a short time to transform our princely manufacturers into lordly landlords—especially so, as with the removal of the tariff, agriculture would become highly profitable. The result would be as in England, lords and proletariat.

Even were such a state deemed permissible, the inflammable condition of the times would not render it advisable. And we may thank God that the conditions are such as they are, for the tendency in the direction of least resist-

ance is towards a higher civilization, towards progress.

The inequality to be overcome is not protection, but the unequal protection.

The actuating motive of the great staple producers in their cry of "free trade," was the tendency to overcome the inequality, rather than a love for free trade in the abstract. Once given them the equivoque, and there will be no more vehement advocates of protection.

There will then be no need to invoke the federal authorities' aid to permit the negro down south to vote for protection, but on the contrary, arm in arm, the former master and former slave will peacefully and smilingly go to the polls and deposit their votes for protection.

Such an equitable mode of protection is entirely possible and practicable by the adoption of the plan as outlined in my article which you criticised, and is the subject matter of this communication. It may be new, it may be radical, but I shall certainly consider it the only practicable plan, until I learn of one that can do more with less effort. D. LUBIN.

To the Galt "Gazette."

SACRAMENTO, September 26, 1893.

MR. EDITOR: In your issue of September 23d, in criticising my article on transportation of farm products through the U. S. Post Office Department at an even rate for any distance, and for free tax on cultivated lands owned and worked by American citizens, or those intending to become such, you say: "It seems reasonable that this system could be applied to the products of the farm and orchard, but to our mind it could not be accomplished except by the government ownership of the transportation lines."

"The railroad corporations would object to carrying wheat, wine, or fruit under a mail contract, where only weight and not mileage were taken into consideration, unless under such conditions as to render the transportation as costly as under the present system."

You have evidently overlooked the true scope of my proposition. It was not intended as a method whereby the government could aid the producer in obtaining a lower rate on transportation, for it may not be possible for the government to do this. Nor is the proposition one of government ownership of railroads. It is, that farm products be carried by the government, through its Post Office Department, at a uniform rate for any distance in the United States, and to foreign ports of general markets. The great difference in the cost to the government is not to be borne by the transportation company but by the taxes of the people.

If you will kindly read over my paper again you will find ample reasons why the government should do this. You will also note the beneficial results likely to follow by the adoption of this plan. D. LUBIN.

In Favor.

GAINESVILLE, TEXAS, Sept. 21, 1893.

DAVID LUBIN, *Sacramento, Cal.*—DEAR SIR: I have examined your plan of distributing agricultural products, and must say that, while at first glance it looks impracticable, yet

there is much reason in it. I cannot see why the products of the soil should not be treated with the same consideration that is given to literature. Of course, the subject is a vast one, and to carry it out would involve a great deal of detail work. But our present postal system would be a big undertaking if it had to be put under way now without previous experience, but it can be done. Yours truly,

W. T. ROBERTS, Editor *Hesperian*.

From the "Nebraska Farmer."

The *Nebraska Farmer*, of Lincoln, Nebraska, says:

"In reply to your favor of September 15 we wish to say that we have carefully looked over your new proposition for transportation of agricultural products, which strikes us favorably, and we will be glad to see our national government take hold of the scheme and set it in working order; yet we think there would be strong opposition to establishing such a scheme, notwithstanding it would be, in our judgment, of great benefit to the agriculturists of our country."

An Educator's Opinion.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
LELAND STANFORD JR., UNIVERSITY,
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA.

DAVID LUBIN, Esq., *Sacramento, Cal.* DEAR SIR: I have read your paper on the moving of produce as mail matters are moved, and am a good deal interested in it. It is a novel proposition, at least I have never heard it before, and I would not offhand wish to say what I think of its merits. I think this may be said, however, that there is no more objection to this form of protection to agricultural interests than there is to an ordinary protective tariff. If we are to have the latter, we might as well have the former. I am not, however, convinced as yet that the destruction of all these special arrangements would not in the long run be beneficial. It seems to me that there is a good deal in your proposition, and I should be glad to refer your article to Dr. Warner, Professor of Economics, and ask for his opinion, which would be of much more value to you than mine. Very truly yours,

DAVID S. JORDAN.

SACRAMENTO, Sept. 18, 1893.

PROF. DAVID S. JORDAN, *Leland Stanford, Jr. University, Palo Alto.*—DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of 16th to hand, and in reply to your "I am not however convinced as yet that the destruction of all these special arrangements would not in the long run be beneficial." While it "might," the chances taken would be greater than experience would justify.

Herbert Spencer somewhere says "that while there is an ultimate evolution, there is also a rhythmic ratio;" and therefore, while we may trust to an ultimate evolved state by free trade, the rhythmic law might tend to obuterate freedom for a time, even for a long time.

Could we act on the world as a whole, the progress indicated or hinted at would be potent, but if we give up the tangible in the hope of the ultimate, we may act as the dog did when he dropped his bone in the water.

China, Japan, India, Egypt, Russia and

other monarchical countries are here, are realities, and we can more easily drag them up to our ideals than to hope for the ultimate good through present abandonment of protection.

Readjustments and concessions are demanded, and that not so much for the sake of whim and love of novelty, as because of their necessity.

Shall we wait until force becomes the factor? I thank you for your opinion, and enclose a copy for Dr. Warner, whose opinion—whatever it may be—I shall value.

Very truly yours,
D. LUBIN.

Would also like the opinion of some of the advanced scholars of the University.

Editor Potter, of the Cairo (Ill.) "Argus," says: "I believe those nearest the market are entitled to the advantages they have." Certainly, but what loss would it be to those nearest should those furthest from the market receive a juster return for their product than they do now? Were your idea to prevail, Mr. Editor, it would establish a sort of protective-tariff wall around about the "market."

Now, as the market is usually a manufacturing centre, selling the bulk of their manufacture those to furthest away from the market, the conclusion, were your idea carried out—and it is to-day—would be much like that of the East African negro when asked by the missionary to give him a definition of good and bad, said: "When I have stolen other men's wives—that is good; when other men have stolen my wives—that is bad." And on another occasion, when asked to tell the difference between human beings and animals, pointing to a dog, said: "This is a little rogue, but you (pointing to the missionary) are a big rogue."

Would our practical ethics be any higher than that of the African negro were our methods to conform to your proposition?

Frank B. Cole, Esq., publisher "West Coast Lumberman," Tacoma, Wash.—DEAR SIR: In your criticism on my article in the *Record-Union* of September 14th, on the proposition of forwarding farm products through the U. S. Post Office Department at an even rate for any distance, and for the exemption from taxation of lands owned and cultivated by American citizens, you say: "I must first acknowledge the boldness of your conception, though I am not prepared to accept it as a panacea for all agricultural ills."

You also intimate a friendly assent to the present act on the part of the U. S. Government in sending through its Post Office Department "literature," on account of its elevating tendency.

I have just glanced over an assortment of this "literature," and I am of the opinion that before any elevation can be had it will require, in addition to this literature, something in the shape of a jack-screw, derrick, or an elevator, to help do the elevating, in addition to the reading of this trash. Here are some of the names of the books: "Camile," "Wife in Name Only," "The Burglar's Fate," "A Crown of Shame," "Strikers and Communists," "A

Rogue's Life," "Ruffino," "A Modern Circe," "Bank Robbers," "The World, the Flesh, and the Devil," "The Old Man's Secret," "Mollie Maguires," "Fair Women," "Professional Thieves."

And this trash is carried 3,300 miles at a cost to the publisher and merchant at one cent a pound in any quantity, whereas it costs the U. S. Government some five or six times as much as it receives to do this. And you, Mr. Editor, and I, and every taxpayer foot the difference in taxes. A box of fruit, a sack of grain, how insignificant the "literature" when compared to these!

For the sake of progress, for the upbuilding of civilization, for the elimination of poverty, for the sake of all this, the right of way should be given to the producer and his product. And the only reason why "literature" usurps that right, is because the manufacturers of "literature" have a "pull" in the high places, while the poor producer is busy with "Women's Rights," "Silver," "Greenbacks," "Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs," "Immigration," "National banking," and a host of other "issues."

A little further on you say: "If, however, farm products are to be thus equally treated in transportation, then why not coal, lumber, products of the mines; in short, why not everything?" Because "everything" is "protected" by a tariff, and farm products are not. And because some farm products are perishable, and lumber and iron are not. Because the farmer is the bulwark of our nation, and all other industries are subsidiary; they do to fill in with.

D. LUBIN.

The "Daily News" of Pensacola, Fla., in its issue of September 23d, says: "But we are unalterably opposed to any proposition to lump all the expenses of transportation and tax every citizen for his proportional part. The merchant would be benefited; the small man would be eaten up, however, by his wholesale neighbor, as the small merchant in turn would get cheap transportation at the expense of the farmer."

The *Daily News* is respectfully requested to glance over my article again, and he will see that I did not advocate the carriage by the Post Office Department of merchants' goods or manufactures. What I advocate is that farm products be carried that way, and farm products only. As for lumping all the expenses and taxing all the citizens to pay their proportion, that is precisely what the protective tariff does, and unjustly so to the producer of staples. Am I right, Mr. Editor?

Well, my plan proposes to give an equitable return to those paying for "protection" but receiving none. That is but common justice, is it not?

The San Jose "Mercury," of September 18th, closes a short review of the proposition herein advocated thus: "This is the kind of politics that ex-Senator Ingalls would call an 'iridescent dream; it is too pure for practice.'"

Indeed! Notwithstanding, however, I would not be surprised, Mr. Editor, if in a short time even you would advocate this "iridescent dream." Thirty thousand copies of the "irri-

descent dream" sent to 30,000 readers—some of whom think—and 30,000 next month, and so on, until the dream is a dream no more. May this not awaken a nation contented to sleep on the prostrate giant—the producer? Suppose the giant should gather up his loins and arise in his might and demand justice! Suppose that he is seconded in his demand by a new and powerful ally—labor—would not the dream likely resolve itself into a wide-awake reality?

Nor would it at all be strange if this did happen. That the producer was the "under dog" in politics for so long a time is true; but it need not always be so. Heretofore his political cry, like Joseph's coat, was of many shades, and its multiple hue cast a shadow which enveloped him with political oblivion; therefore, he slept a peaceful political sleep, too sound for awakening. And while he slept the other fellows "got in their lick." Let him now have horse-sense enough to cry protection!—equal and just protection! and with labor's co-operation who can hinder him from just victory?

The editor of the Chicago "Tribune" says: "The opinion of the *Tribune* is, that it would cost the government far more to transport the products and commodities of the people of the United States than it costs the citizens now." That depends: First of all, if you mean by products and commodities, produce and manufactured goods, then you are mistaken as to the scope of my proposition. Nothing is embraced under it that is not a farm product in its natural state; not beer, but hops; not flour, but grain. Now, when I confine your meaning to farm products alone, that again leaves us in the dark until we clear the meaning. If you mean it will cost the government more than the citizen, I must disagree with you. Any citizen or set of citizens cannot make near as good a bargain as the government could as soon as it will be in a position to contract for the entire quantity of farm product. If, however, you mean that when this proposition is adopted that it will cost the government more than now, that is self-evident, for my plan calls for that saving to the producer which will equalize his loss caused by the protective tariff, and my proposition would not have any importance unless it did "cost the government far more." This "far more" is to be the saving to the farmer, and is to go to him as an equivalent for that which he pays out for protection.

The editor of the *Tribune* further says, "That commodities are carried no where in the world as cheaply by ship or rail as in the United States." In the abstract, Mr. Editor, you may be right, though I doubt it. Practically, you miss the question. Does it cost \$400 a car to transport a carload of fruit from Wales or France or Germany to London? Yet that is the price from California to New York. The place where the producer receives the lowest price is where he is furthest from the market, and once this distance question is removed, the great West alone can, by unimpeded development, maintain a population quadruple to its present extent, and in greater comfort than anywhere else in the world.

"The American Cultivator."

BOSTON, MASS., Sept. 23, 1893.

D. LUBIN, Esq., *Sacramento, Cal.*—DEAR SIR: I read with interest your article in the *Sacramento Weekly Union*, and must confess that it is a novel proposition. However, I cannot believe that such a system could be practicable, because it would amount to a confiscation of the railroads, which are not now making much money. No capital could be secured to build new railroads if they must carry farm products at a uniform rate for all distances.

GEORGE B. JAMES,

Publisher *The American Cultivator*.

In reply to the above, I state that Mr. James has certainly made a mistake. I no where advocated a proposition that the railroads should carry farm products at a uniform rate for all distances. But I do advocate that this be done by the United States government, by paying the ruling rates to the transportation company and charging but a nominal rate, equal for any distance in the union, to the producer, the difference to be paid in taxes by all the people.

The saving to the producers is to equalize the cost to them for protection which they pay for, and the benefit of which goes to the manufacturer, as the conditions are now.

I advocate no confiscation; I possess too much property myself to do so, even were I so inclined, which I am not. My proposition, if adopted, will stop confiscation now going on. Confiscation of a good portion of the producers' just earnings is caused by the protective tariff; but, as I am a confirmed protectionist, and am convinced of its tendency toward the conservation of our American institutions, I seek to perpetuate it, but not in its one-sided and unjust operations.

Protection is politic. Should it not also be just?

We have become so accustomed to this standing wrong that it seems normal. And we are inclined to hide and dodge what honest men should not hide and dodge. Injustice is injustice, and no shrug, or wink, or sophism, or twist, or turn, or whine, or concealment, or waiver, or stubbornness can make it just.

The producers are paying for protection and are receiving value for their money, and I am wrong! Or, the producers are paying for protection and are not receiving it, and I am right! Which is it? If I am right, then I also show a way how justice may be done, and I shall say it is the only way until you, Mr. Publisher, or some one else can show a better road to justice.

Further on you say: "Again, this being a free country, it would be a difficult thing to make one rate for farmers, another rate for merchants, a third rate for coal miners, and a fourth rate for lumber dealers. However pleasant it might be for the farmers to be lifted out of a hole in this manner, it would lead to a revolution in other classes of business. It would be an agreeable proposition to the farmers, but a very disagreeable fact to the railroads' stockholders themselves."

This is a free country, and the very thing you say is being done now, nor is there any difficulty. A publisher may send a ton of trashy novels from New York to San Francisco and land them there in six days, through the Post

Office Department, and which costs the United States government, from \$120 to \$150, and for which the government only receives \$20. (When I say trashy, I mean just what I say.)

Now, then, which is of greater importance to the welfare of this nation: to help the publishers of "Molly Maguires," "The Burglar's Secret," "Wife in Name Only," etc., etc., or for it to carry honest farm produce at a rate to compensate the producers for the tariff which they pay for and do not receive?

Coal and lumber require no equation; they are protected by the tariff; but if you mean that there would (under my proposition) be some difficulty to adjust a schedule of rates between hops and grain, you are right. But this would be no harder to solve than a thousand problems already solved in postal carriage.

The last two lines may be answered, that it would not be more disagreeable to the railroad stockholders to receive pay from the United States government for services rendered than it would be for them to receive the same amount that they do now from the farmer. Why should it?

"Rocky Mountain Herald."

D. LUBIN, Esq., *Sacramento, Cal.*—DEAR SIR: I have carefully read your proposition in regard to the transportation of farm products. I fail to see why the farm products of the country should not receive the same protection that is accorded to manufactures. Your plan would simply re-distribute and equalize the burden of transportation, which should be borne by all classes alike. It would increase to some extent the cost to the consumer, but the individual would scarcely perceive it, as his tax to make up the difference would be so light that it would be lost sight of in the equalization of first cost, and, in any event, could not be compared with the increased cost of manufactured goods, under the present system of protection.

Respectfully, R. G. DILL,

Ed. *Rocky Mountain Herald*, Denver, Colo.

Replying to Editor Dill, I wish to state (should my proposition be adopted) that, in my opinion, not alone would there be no increase of taxes at all, but there would probably be a great decrease. The great land grants gone, renters eliminated, all lands cultivated by the owners, and a nominal fee for transportation, would so increase the magnitude of wealth and population that the per cent. and per capita would decline.

The "Northwest Horticulturist."

TACOMA, Wash., Sept. 23, 1893.

D. LUBIN—*Dear Sir:* Your favor and copy of "Novel Proposition," etc., has been received. A hasty glance gives me the impression you have presented some ideas worthy of careful consideration. If Pacific coast fruits can be sold at equal prices to producers* through the United States, producer, consumer, and States will all be benefited.

C. A. TONNESON,
Ed. Northwest Horticulturist and Sec'y State Board Horticulture.

*The words "to producers" have been inserted.

Mr. Filcher on the Scheme.

On the proposition, *Placer Herald*, Sept. 23d, says:

"To establish that the situation in this county is as described is not a difficult matter. It is recognized as a fact by all observing men of the present day, and its alarming consequences are the subject of much serious thought and of no small amount of discussion. It is one thing, however, to discover an evil and to note its tendency, and it is another thing to point out a practical remedy.

"Henry George, an economist of note and one of the advanced thinkers of to-day, proposes a remedy for the evils under discussion by putting all taxes on to land, and in some sections the acceptance of this idea as the best solution is rapidly gaining ground.

"Mr. Lubin reverses George's theory and would exempt all lands owned and worked by American citizens, or those intending to become such, from all taxes whatever. He goes further; he would move the farmer's produce to market by a system similar to the postal service, by which a stamp on a sack or a car load of grain, fruit, or other produce should carry it to its destination whether the haul be greater or less.

"This would eliminate distance and put all producers on an equal footing as to advantages of market."

"The Santa Clara."

SAN JOSE, CAL., Sept. 18, 1893.

MR. D. LUBIN: Your printed article sounds like a battle-cry to me. I am wonderfully enthused over it. It seems to me you have struck more than one key-note. Especially am I pleased with the freight-stamp plan. I shall be glad to present the paper before our Grange (of which I am a member), and will, if possible, read it at next Saturday's meeting. I will also publish it entire in my October magazine. This interests me more than anything I have heard on the "situation." I believe there is a living germ in it that shall grow, and grow, until the people may rest in the shade of the protecting tree which is evolved.

(Signed) CARRIE STEVENS WALTER,
Editor of *Santa Clara*.

Editor Rice of the *Orange County (Orlando, Fla.) "Reporter,"* in a communication says:

"Your plan embraces many practical ideas that will some day obtain, but just how long a time it will require to agitate, educate, and organize the masses up to the point to act upon your theory, is a question that time only can answer. The masses do not read much, and are slow to adopt, or favor the adoption, of a new order of things."

I beg to differ with editor Rice. Never in the history of social organization was there a time when the masses read more, knew more, or did more to better their conditions than now.

The "Times" of Oakland, of September 19th, gave a lengthy synopsis of the product postal carriage system in its editorial columns, but expressed no opinion for the time being.

A Brooklyn Opinion.

In a letter dated Sept. 21st, from Mr. Wm. Churchill, editor of the *Brooklyn Times*, he says: "The conditions, you see, are different here." Meaning that, in his judgment, while my proposition would be good for the west, it would not, if adopted, be good for the east.

Is not the editor mistaken? If the condition of the producer were made better throughout the union, would not the eastern producer benefit as well? Again, Brooklyn is a manufacturing city, and if the west prospers will this not bring orders to Brooklyn for manufactured goods to a much greater degree? Will not their outstanding accounts be firmer? Will it not tend to give employment to thousands of Brooklyn's idle workmen? Will not the west, if prosperous, absorb the surplus men and women now eking out a miserable existence in Brooklyn, and giving them a better living than Brooklyn ever can under present conditions?

The "Maryland Farmer."

BALTIMORE, Sept. 25, 1893.

D. LUBIN, Esq.—*Dear Sir*: We have read with interest the extract forwarded to *Maryland Farmer*. While we have not had the requisite time to canvass thoroughly the important subject upon which it treats, we are of the opinion that the U. S. government should give the agriculturist all the advantages which are afforded the most privileged classes through the medium of the mails. If thousands of tons of books and newspapers are transmitted at nominal rates, why not the like advantages to the agriculturists?

But whether, on the examination of the whole field, it would be practicable, we are not now ready to affirm.

The matter of tariff protection to farmers we have considered to be wholly a farce, and your argument is very good in that direction.

Yours respectfully, H. R. WALWORTH,
Editor *Maryland Farmer*.

The Indiana County "Gazette."

MR. D. LUBIN.—*Dear Sir*: I have read with no little degree of interest the press clipping sent me. While your proposition for the transferring of farm products as mail matter is at first startling and unique, to me it gives an inkling of one remedy to the great agricultural depression.

In Pennsylvania, however, a scheme such as yours must be preceded by one other, the question of better roads. With us it is a question of cheap transportation between farm and railway. This, however, is more of a local problem. Your plan is one of national interest. I am yours truly,
WALTER H. JACKSON.

"Peck's Sun," Milwaukee, Wis.

MR. DAVID LUBIN, *Sacramento, Cal.*—*DEAR SIR*: I have read with interest your article in the *Sacramento Record-Union*, on the moving of farm products. I have written a short editorial, for this paper of 30th September, approving the scheme. Yours truly,
ROBT W. WILSON, Editor.

Belle E. Matteson, Editor of "*The Fargo Sun*," N. D., in a communication gives it as her opinion that the principal objection to the proposition is that it calls for class legislation. Is not the protective tariff class legislation? Yes; but two wrongs do not make a right. No; but is one wrong a right? To protect both would no longer be a wrong. Therefore, protect both and let us be right. Again she says, "If rented and unoccupied lands were the only ones taxed, the tenant, who would have to pay the tax by way of additional rent, would stand no chance to compete with the man who owned and worked his land." *The Sun* is correct. This is one of the principal aims of my proposition. If it is adopted it will do away with renters for good. Do we need arguments to show that the renting system is an evil? Have we not an object lesson in the condition of Ireland? Toward the close she asks if the new plan would not increase production so greatly as to cause a decline in price to a loss. It will increase the production largely, but not to a loss; for the surplus can, under my proposition, be exported. And until all foreign countries adopt the same plan, we can, by my proposition, meet them with ease. *The Sun* concludes: "However (by its adoption) it appears the masses would be greatly benefited, inasmuch as living would be cheapened, and the demand for labor greatly increased."

T. A. Bland, of Washington, D. C., in a communication, Sept. 23d, says:

"To extend the benefits of the postal system to agricultural products, would undoubtedly be a boon to the farmers. But is it practicable while the railways, canals, etc., are owned by corporations?"

Why would it not? The U. S. government now transports thousands of tons on hired roads. It is only a question of bulk and weight. Who shall own the railroads, and an even rate for farm products for any distance are two different questions. The government might own the railroads to-day, and run them at or below cost, and yet not cover the proposition that I advocate. What I advocate is postal rates—a nominal fee—for all farm products, so as to eliminate the ratio rate for distance on non-staples, and for giving an equitable return to the producer of staples, who now pays for a protection tariff, but receives no protection.

The Iowa "State Register," of Des Moines, in a communication, says: "It is impracticable, for the mail matter is moved at a much higher rate than is now paid for moving farm products." *The Register* is asked to explain how 165 pounds of trashy novels can get from New York to California for \$1.65? And let the editor tell us how much it costs for forwarding 165 pounds of peaches from California to New York?

I grant it will cost the government more to do the carrying than now, for now it costs nothing, simply because the government is doing no carrying of farm products.

My purpose is to have the government pay: this "pay" to be in lieu of protection to the producer of staples, and for the elimination of distance competition to the producer of non-staple farm products.

W. F. Dunlap, editor of the "Times-Record," Valley City, N. D., in a communication dated September 26th, says: "Your ideas on the transportation question certainly have the distinction of being novel. But to bring about such a rate would require government ownership of railroads. This latter condition can not, to my notion, be brought about too speedily for the public good. The government must either own the railroads, or the railroads will own the government."

There is a tendency in the direction of the least resistance, in nature and in social conditions. And when a difficulty confronts, which we have not patience enough to solve properly, the tendency is to solve it any way. And if we find that the selling price of farm products brings a meagre net return, our "least point of resistance" terminates in the cry, "the railroad is robbing us." Now, Mr. Editor, is it not possible that the incident of *great distance* to the ultimate market is doing the mischief, is the real robber? Germany, France, England, Austria, Holland, Denmark, if they had our great distances before reaching their ultimate markets, could they survive? No, not for a year; it would eat them up. Then, too, the unequal and enormous tax for tariff protection. Who is protected? Is it not the manufacturer? Who pays for it? Is it not the producer of staples? Does he receive value for what he pays? No; for his price is fixed in Liverpool and London. Is he not robbed? And yet we are likely (we do) to lay it all on the back of the railroad. Is it just? Government ownership of railroads might leave us in the same fix we are to-day, for it might cost the government as much to run them as the corporations, including their profits. Give the farmer an equitable return for the protection he pays for and does not receive, and remove the unbearable obstruction of cost for distance, and agriculture will thrive, manufactures will flourish and labor be in demand. Our country will then become the greatest political power in the world. There will then be no need to close our national gates to the poor, for our country, by intelligent effort, can be made to support in comfort triple the population she now has.

But as long as a narrow, selfish and unjust policy is permitted to prevail, we are forced to face conditions not at all to our liking. Must they continue so because we lack wisdom or courage to make them better? Further on you say:

"As to the question of taxes, as proposed by

you, I cannot fully agree. I am an advocate of the Henry George single tax idea."

Now, Mr. Editor, I suppose you will agree that there is no stronger advocate of "single tax" than Henry George himself. And yet I am sure that, rather than postpone a present possible era of progress, he would waive his "single tax" proposition altogether by accepting a possible solution. When single tax means confiscation without compensation, when it means a deluge of blood, when it means a general "reign of terror" such as the world has never seen; when it means that if force is defeated the mediæval tyrant will again rule, that if force wins we may have Goths and Vandals to rule us; when a host of Ghengis Khans, Tamerlaines, Robespierres, will sit on bloody thrones, of what value then will be the single tax? You have only to read Mr. George's book, "Progress and Poverty," well to see that I am not drawing on my imagination. My tax proposition will accomplish just what Mr. George aims at. It will do away with renters on farming land, and that in a manner consistent with law and in harmony with existing rights of property. Further on you say:

"What the farmer of the west needs is cheaper transportation. Your idea of nationalizing transportation and giving a postage rate would be a God-send to everybody."

No, Mr. Editor, not for everybody. Suspenders, kettles, pitchers, and crackers are commercial drummers. Hops, honey, peaches and wheat are the customers. What sensible drummer would first cripple his customers and then expect trade?

The railroads may have done some "cinching," but nothing so wasteful, so destructive, so stupid was ever perpetrated by the railroads as the remorseless cinching suffered by the producer of staples (the customer) at the hands of the manufacturer (the drummer) when he (the drummer) got himself "protected" at the expense of his customer, the producer. Toward the close you say:

"When one specific interest is protected, all others should be equally protected, or an injustice is done."

I agree to a T, and as the tariff can not protect the producer of staples, the saving on transportation can be adjusted to act as an equivalent; this alone can bring justice.

Mr. M. T. Thompson, the editor of "American Farm and Horticulturist," of Richmond.

Va., says: "We would have little to ship to the west, and if the farmers in the west, where they have the new, rich, virgin soil, would reach our market so cheap it would entirely destroy our old settled section."

Granted that you have little to ship west, have you also little to ship east? Now, Mr. Editor, I would like to know on what ground you base your assertion, "and if the farmers in the west, where they have rich, virgin soil, could reach our market so cheap they would entirely destroy our old settled section." Does not the product of the farmer of the west reach your market now? Has it destroyed your section? What objection, then, can you have to his receiving a greater net return than now? Do you fear a greater production? Will not the proposition under consideration also bring a greater number of consumers? You appear to fear the fertility of the western soil being pitted against your old settled section. What is the matter with your "old settled section?" Why is it not as fertile as the newer section? Surely, age of settlement can have nothing to do with it; for I saw land under cultivation in Italy, between Genoa and Rome, that must have been farmed before Romulus founded Rome, and it was fully as fertile, if not more so, than our new land here, and one of the finest orange groves that I ever saw was near Jaffa, in Palestine, and I suppose that same land was farmed before Abraham was born. Was Virginia land ever fertile? Then, why is it not fertile now?

Is it because Virginians do not understand farming, or is it because they lacked the means to procure fertilizers? This lack of means, was it not caused by receiving too low a net return for products? Why did they not receive a higher return? Are not your staple productions governed by similar productions where labor is much lower than in this country? And when you exchange this net return for necessities, do you not pay "protection" prices?

Does that help you to fertilize your land? Does it not rather keep the producers of Virginia down to a "bed rock" level? The man in the Greek fable who was compelled to roll a stone up hill forever—are not the producers of Virginia in a similar fix?

Have the Virginia farmers no need of a better net return? When California will get it, will not Virginia also get it? Has not Virginia ever struggled for free trade? And why? Not because they did not recognize the utility of

protection. Her statesmen were too great not to have known this. They opposed "protection" because it protected Massachusetts at the expense of Virginia. Now, then, if Virginia can receive back her outlay for protection in the form of a rebate on transportation, as the plan under consideration proposes, will she object to this equalization because California will also be benefited?

To return to the virgin soil question. On this score, Mr. Editor, you need have no fear, for we here are not much better off in that respect than is Virginia. The brief recapitulation of soil fertility history here is as follows: The first plow that turned the soil brought back from 15 to 30 sacks of wheat to the acre, but now the same soil, summer fallowed, hardly brings 8 to 15 sacks, and in many instances only 5 to 8. What robbery of the soil virtue? Yes, the robbers are here, and they will tell you that the net return for wheat hardly pays interest on the mortgages, and investments for manures are out of the question. When we produced gold by the ton and had our virgin soil we were in good trim, and at that time did not need manure, but now when we want manure we must first pay for "protection" and when we have done that we have as a remainder—what? Precious little.

Granted that Virginia and California cannot have free trade—and they cannot and ought not, in the best interests of the union—should they refuse an equivalent return for their outlay? Should they alone refuse protection, and rest content by permitting New England to receive and absorb, and for the rest of the country to pay, ever pay?

Let it be protection, but for agriculture as well as manufacture. And as a tariff cannot protect agriculture, let the form of agricultural protection be in transportation, by forwarding farm products through the U. S. Postal Department at a nominal rate for any distance.

The Meadville, Pa., Messenger, by its editor, R. B. Brown, in a communication, says:

"Remedy impracticable; but the evils exist, and something must be done to protect farmers from the rapacity of railroad managers, who are amassing millions by the manipulation of stocks, bonds, and other property. They are the greatest highway robbers in the world."

The *Messenger* is not the only one making such assertions. It may be questioned if they deserve attention, for the reason that no attempt is made to show which of the railroads are the highway robbers and which are not.

If all are, then we have a strange law here, a singular exception to the general rule, viz: that as soon as a man engages in the railroad business, however honest he may have been before, becomes a highway robber. If this were true, it is high time for religious teachers to preach to and exhort their flocks to beware of the danger of associating with or becoming railroad men. Yet strange to say, I never heard of such apparently necessary warnings.

I ask the editor of the *Messenger*, in all sincerity, if he too would become a highway robber as soon as he would own a few railroad shares? Or would he be an exception to the rule? If so, we have a remedy, sure enough, by placing the editor at the head of the railroads.

Now, Mr. Editor, has it ever occurred to you that the man who lives in Hoboken, and employs the railroad to carry his product to New York, seldom if ever grumbles at the charges? But the man in Wyoming, who also ships products to New York, does a great deal of growling.

What is the cause, pray? Is it not the cost for distance? Now, it is this very distance that hinders progress. It is this very hindrance that causes the hundreds of thousands of unemployed.

It is this very hindrance that causes many shallow brains to shout "close the gate!" "put up the bars!" when we have room for quadruple our present population.

It is this very hindrance that engenders want and misery in California, with scarce a million and a half population, when she can maintain as many millions as France can, and in better comfort.

It is this very hindrance that causes the producers to stand, like the man in the Greek fable, up to the chin in water and yet thirst, with Cornucopia's fount overflowing with precious food for the millions in God's image, denied to them, and given freely for hogs to wallow in, and to rot on the land, and to be dumped into the water, and to poison the air.

Perhaps, Mr. Editor, you may think I am drawing on my imagination, but I assure you, sir, that I can easier prove what I set forth, than you can that the railroads "are the greatest highway robbers in the world." Distance is the hindrance, and to remove it I offer as a remedy my proposition of forwarding farm products at a nominal rate through the Post Office Department of the government service.

The Grand Rapids, Mich., Telegram-Herald.

The editor, in a communication, Sept. 22d, says:

"The scheme you suggest is certainly a novel one. I am not prepared to indorse it; but believe that sooner or later the unjust discriminations which you would correct will be cured by the congestion of population in localities contiguous to the producers."

In Vermont, or even in Michigan, perhaps, yes; for the great northwest, south, and west, no. Nor, indeed, would it be well for the country as a whole, were your theory to prevail. The farm product of Massachusetts is, perhaps, insufficient for the needs of her population, because there "the congestion of population in localities contiguous to the producers" is all right, for the population is supported by manufacture. Suppose we, too, congested population in localities contiguous to the producers, by the development of manufacture, what would become of Massachusetts and her congested population? Would not their enforced idleness compel them to emigrate? They would then come to California, and the States named would but change relative positions.

Were we even to attempt this, we could not carry it out. A California ranch cannot be worked like a Massachusetts farm. Here we have a rainy season, and when that is over the sky is almost cloudless until the time for rain comes again. This makes it practicable to adopt but one method of farming, and the ground is generally put to a single or continuous use. Thus the fruit-grower buys his vegetables, hay, and breadstuffs. The wheat-grower buys his fruit, vegetables, and meat, and under this system, and without manufacture, the Natoma vineyard, 18 miles east of this city, can supply a city as large as Albany with grapes, and yet this is only one vineyard—a large one, it is true. And if all agreed to drink only California wines and brandies, the Vina vineyard—the property of the late Senator Stanford—could supply New York city with wines and brandies. Then comes A. T. Hatch, the fruit-grower, and he could easily supply Brooklyn with fruits.

But these are, in comparison, insignificant in magnitude when compared with the great wheat fields—no, wheat kingdoms.

The Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys can furnish flour for California, New York, Pennsylvania, and some more States.

Friend editor, the problem is one of transportation and nothing else.

At the close you say, "Time is the chief factor in this process of evolution."

"Time?" What has "time" done for India, for China, for Egypt, for Asia Minor, for Russia? "Time" is a nonentity. Man alone, by his energy, by his power of seeing, by his resolution, his tenacity, and by a will pregnant with purpose, has accomplished. And because he can and has accomplished, we may know that he is in the image of God.

Mandon, N. D., Pioneer, in its editorial review of the proposition, says: "Besides, what would the farmers who own their land near the eastern centers of population say? Would they like such a scheme as that proposed?"

Well, that depends; the fish-head and hog-belly eastern farmer would not, but the progressive farmer would, because he would know that the products of the several sections are not all alike, do not mature at the same time that his does, and that he will still have the great advantage as to time, and nearness to the ultimate consumer. He will also know that if more product will come, a greater population will also come to consume it.

Should California receive her thirty million population—which she can support if the conditions permit it—that this will increase the population of New York, Chicago, and the other great eastern cities, not with loafers, but with workers, and this will give the eastern truck farmers a steadier market than they now have. Would the *Pioneer* add insult to injury? Would he have the great west, south, and northwest pay for tariff protection on their staple products and receive nothing in return, and in addition place another wall of protection around the eastern manufacturing centers to keep the southern and western producer out?

Shall we buy eastern clothing, dry goods, hardware, and thus support "your" truck men in addition to the tariff, and then climb your Chinese wall to sell you our products? Come, Mr. Editor, what kind of logic, what kind of justice have we here?

Does it not sound like "We are the great hogs; we will eat until we burst; let the patient men of a distance starve for ought we care; only let them send us orders and we will do the rest?" Now we don't think much of hogs out here.

"**The Lagrange Graphic**," Lagrange, Ga., of September 29th: "It would be a good thing for far-away California. It would "bust" Florida and be a heavy load on the balance of the country."

Will editor Randall kindly tell us how it will "bust" Florida?

Perhaps he believes that California oranges at postal rate of transportation would compete with the ordinary mode of transportation. If he does he is mistaken, for by my proposition the postal rate would be for every section.

If this is not meant, then is it the greater quantity likely to be marketed that the editor fears? If so, then are we to stop progress in the west in order to give Florida a chance to stand still?

In the first place, Mr. Editor, can you tell me whether California and Florida oranges mature and are marketed at the same time, or is it at times far enough apart to avoid competition? Please answer!

In the second place, what harm will it be to Florida should California orange growers be able to make a greater net earning? How will it "bust" Florida? Tell me why Florida, as well as California, would not be benefited? Tell me why it will be a heavy load to the balance of the country? You will do me a great service if you can. You will also save me the expense of printing several more 30,000 editions of this pamphlet and the expense of mailing them.

Will it not put more money in the pockets of producers? Is this busting them?

Will it not develop the resources of the country? Will it not be the means of creating orders for goods to northern manufacturers? Will this "bust" Florida? Will it not create a steady demand for labor? Will this "bust" Florida?

When the southern white man and the Southern black man will (under my proposition) find it to their interests to vote for "protection to north and protection for south," will not this identity of interests do away with the race hatred? Will this "bust" Florida?

Oh, Mr. Editor, I am awfully anxious to have your reply. I want to know the reason of the "bust" that will "bust" Florida if this proposition is adopted.

"**Living Issues**," Boston, Mass.—The editor in a communication, October 2d, says: "It is unquestionably one step in the right direction. The discussion and propagation of your proposition is pertinent and profitable."

"**Nelson County News**," Lakota, N. D.—In an opinion by the editor is the following: "It would encourage the settlement of farm land all over the United States by the unemployed of large cities."

The St. Louis (Mo.) "Chronicle."

EDITOR CHRONICLE: Your issue of the 21st September contains a criticism on my article in the Sacramento *Record-Union* of September 14th (wherein I propose a plan for the forwarding of farm products by the United States government, through the Post Office Department, and for the exemption from taxes all lands owned and worked by American citizens, or those intending to become such) and towards the close of same you say:

"But we would like for him to consider the effect of this long-haul arrangement on the farmers of St. Louis county, Mo., and of St. Clair county, Ill. Under it, they would have to pay part of the freight from California to bring California products to St. Louis in competition with their own. For, of course, if the rate were uniform, regardless of distance, it would have to be averaged and the average would be taken at the expense of people who pay for the short haul."

You have misunderstood my meaning. For in my article you will find the question, "Upon whom, then, will fall the burden of these millions?" and the answer is, "Upon all who are not farmers." Further on I say:

"Will the workman consent to be taxed with the additional tax from which you expect to be freed? Yes, assuredly he will, as soon as you demonstrate that by his doing so it will secure him a greater possibility of a steady demand for labor than is now possible.

"Will the merchant agree to it? Yes; for the additional tax to him by this method will enhance your value as a customer.

"Will the manufacturer agree to it? Yes, and for the same reason as the merchant. Will the man of bonds and mortgages agree to it? Yes, when it can be demonstrated that his bonds and mortgages will then possess a greater degree of security."

You will see that there is here no question of average. It is proposed that the United States government pay for any difference in the rate, between what it receives from the producer as postal charge and the much higher price it will pay to the transportation company. At the first glance, the enormous outlay and the tax to meet it would seem to render this plan so costly as to make it an impossibility, but upon careful reflection it will be manifest that the proposition is not alone practicable, but will be so beneficial in its results as to mark a decided era in the progress of our American civilization.

I hope I shall be able to substantiate my assertion in so plain a manner as not to be misunderstood; for time is too valuable to be wasted in the chimerical. But time is well used in the patient endeavor to make plain a truth, than which no other is of higher rank in our country's development.

I wish this nation to transport farm products at a nominal postal rate, equal for any distance, for the following reasons:

First: About half of our field products are staples. These staples are sold at the London and Liverpool exchange prices; and this, for that which is exported and for that which is sold at home. The prices fixed in the foreign exchanges are based upon the lowest price of

labor in India, China, Russia, and other cheap labor countries. The farmers of our country are compelled to pay the highest price for labor anywhere in the world, hence the competition must tend to a degrading level. To overcome this tendency, I propose to rebate the transportation charges to the producer, which rebate is to be to the producer what the tariff is to the manufacturer.

Second: If our exports equal our imports, it is evident that the producer of staples is entitled to receive back a very large slice of "protection." But, while he pays full price for "protection," he receives back none of its benefits: he is not protected, but pays just the same. As this continues, the producer is robbed of rights, of means, of strength of soil, of progress, and eventually of a livelihood. His decline is not only a loss to him, but to his locality, to the state in which he lives, his section of the country, and to the nation.

Besides this, it falls heaviest on labor in the manufacturing centers, for the producer's lack of means prevents him from purchasing the useful as he ought, and the ornamental seldom or not at all. For the "boss" of labor is not truly the man that hires, but it is the general condition permeating any locality. If the creek is dry, there can be no irrigation, and does not the quicksand of a one-sided protection dry up the purchasing fount in the shape of the farmers' empty pockets? Are we not wastefully diverting the stream by wrongfully and destructively tampering with its source?

The remedy is then clear. Either remove the burdensome load of protection, or make it equitable by an equivalent. And as no tariff can protect the producer, the rebate on transportation can.

But it will cost much? So it will, but does it not cost the producer much now? To be sure it does; and just because protection is forced upon him, does that make it just? Certainly not. And when New England manufacturers make loud boasts of their patriotism, but keep a sharp business eye on "protection," may this patriotism not be called into question by its closeness to their self interest? Does not disinterested patriotism seek the highest good for the country as a whole? Or, do we understand it to mean "every man for his own pocket?"

Third: We are now to consider the cost in taxation of product shipment by the Post Office Department. Yes, the cost in taxes will be enormous, but unless it were there would not be much for the producer to gain. This need not deter us from proceeding, but let us ascertain upon whom will fall this enormous tax. Upon all, true; but upon some the greater. And in this "some" we will find a convenient back to lay on this enormous burden; a back that is fat and strong; a back that never did carry the weight it should have; a back that has shirked, that has not earned, that casts a gloomy shadow in our republican land. In fact, it is a back that should be broken, and this system that I am advocating, if adopted, will break that back.

This back is none other than the speculative landlord. He, and none other, can and will, if permitted, destroy our free institutions. This

is the factor that will, if permitted, make this country a new Ireland, with tenants galore, and set imperceptible tendencies at work that must ultimately rob us of our hard-earned freedom and ultimately bring the abhorred crown and scepter of the tyrant.

Yes, this creator of the proletariat, this greedy, heartless cormorant, this dangerous and insidious foe to liberty, on him will fall almost all of the enormous burden, and when he is crushed to earth, then will spring from his carcass hundreds of great cities, and innumerable villages, and millions of happy homes.

How may this be done? You will note in my original article I said that, in addition to the law authorizing the Post Office Department to carry farm products to any distance at a uniform rate, that I also said that a law should be passed that all lands owned and cultivated by American citizens *shall not be taxed*, but that all lands owned by aliens, or lands worked by renters, shall be taxed.

The advantage to the citizen working his own land without a tax will be that no alien or renter will be able to compete with him, for the difference between the untaxed and taxed lands will be much greater than now. It will not alone be the additional tax that will be added to the taxed land, from which the former taxed land was taken, but the great tax required to pay back to the government the difference caused by forwarding farm products by the Post Office Department.

This will render the renting system unprofitable, and thus, in time, abandoned. Thus, profitable farming by American citizens will give to this country that stable element, so essential to its perpetuity, as will render our experiment of a centuries' existence as a free people, but a stepping-stone to ultimate progress. And its tendency will be in the line indicated, not alone for our republic, but for the world.

The concluding lines of your criticism read:

"Plans for great reforms are not necessarily bad things in themselves, but it will be just as well not to cut loose from common justice in framing them. The only way to make them sensible is to make them just."

I hope, Mr. Editor, that you have now come to the conclusion that I have not "cut loose from common justice," and that I have endeavored to be "just."

D. LUBIN.

The Bradford "Argus" (Towanda, Pa.), E. Ashmun Parsons, publisher, gives it as his opinion "the business needs of the country will at last crystalize all transportation schemes into what is for the best interests of mankind."

Are we then to understand that the affairs of man run on in a determinate course in the direction of progress, and that any attempt at an impulsive tendency is unnecessary? Then were the Athenians correct when they condemned Socrates as a "pestilential fellow" worthy of death; and then were all persecutors right, and saee, prophet, reformer, and inventor were those whose time was wasted in the idle accomplishments of that which the needs of their country would at last have crystalized into those modes calculated "for the best interests of mankind?" And were your

opinion correct it would remove the utility of the "editorial" in newspapers, and many more things deemed promotive factors besides. Now, Mr. Editor, are we not all indebted to those whose impulsive energy helped shape events to the end that the best interests of mankind be attained?

If you are still in doubt; let me cite an instance: A certain shrewd speculator in San Francisco, realizing that the business needs of the country (of California) required sailing vessels to carry the wheat of this State to England, did he "crystalize a scheme of transportation" into what was "for the best interests of mankind?" No, indeed; but for himself; and although he did not have a single sack of wheat to ship, he nevertheless bonded all the sailing vessels in sight—not for the benefit of "mankind," but for himself, remember. And now when a wheat-grower wishes to ship his wheat, or to sell it, he is obliged to pay toll to the shrewd gentleman before he is permitted to do so. This is peculiarly irksome, I assure you. When I think of this "crystalize" I cannot help warming up a little; and it may be excusable, seeing that because of this my own wheat raised on my two sections of land in Colusa county is still in the warehouse, and is likely to remain there for how long I do not know.

Is it the wheat-grower alone that suffers from the evils of present product transportation? Certainly not. The merchant first, the Eastern manufacturer and workman next, and then all the rest a little. When left to its own solution, the transportation question is more apt to crystalize into schemes of what is for the worst interests of mankind.

And if transportation of the farmer's products only concerned the farmer alone, many of us would be inclined to permit the farmer to plod along with his problem as best he could. But some little reflection will bring us to the conclusion that farm product transportation affects labor in every avenue whatsoever. For if a fruit-grower, for instance, sends a quantity of fruit to market, which costs him \$40 to produce, and receives \$100 for it, but is compelled to pay \$60 for transportation, how much has he left? Am I drawing on my imagination for this example? Come here, buy a ranch, and see!

Is the railroad company robbing him? No; for the fruit is carried at as low a price as the speed and distance will permit.

Distance, and distance alone, is the destroyer; and unless we wish to be destroyed, we must destroy distance. At whose expense? At yours, at every ones. You refuse? Wait a moment and we will see what you will receive in return; figure it up yourself. We have but a million and a half population, and we have capacity and soil for the population of France. No? Well, you shall see. Spain contains 191,000 square miles. California 139,000. Madrid is in the centre of Spain; and it is only south of Madrid that the semi-tropic fruit belt begins, whereas our semi-tropic fruit belt begins south of the most northerly county and extends continuously to San Diego. Spain, notwithstanding she has scarce any manufacture, and depends almost entirely on her semi-tropic fruit belt for her maintenance, has, nevertheless, 17,000,000 population. Italy, just

half the size, and with a quarter the quantity of semi-tropic fruit belt, and with but little more manufacture than Spain, has 26,000,000 population. Why, then, cannot California support the population of France?

When our millions are here, and can dispose of their products, will that not add a million of population to New York? a half million to Chicago? Will there be a spot in the Union that will not be repaid over and over again for the outlay? Does not all this seem as if some one were trying to lift himself by his bootstraps? Would not others have to pay for California's prosperity?

"Only argue this away, and we will agree." Good! It is not a lifting of oneself up by the bootstraps at all. It is a distribution of wealth calculated to give that strength and stability to our country as to insure its peaceful and progressive perpetuity. For it will insure a permanent yeomanry, a steady demand for labor, available food at low prices, flourishing manufacture, and the strongest, greatest, grandest country on the face of the earth. Shall we wait for communism, socialism, or anarchism to try its hand at correcting? Had we not better do the correcting ourselves?

"Farmer and Fruit Grower," in a communication dated Jacksonville, Fla., September 28th, says: "Government control of traffic would soon entail, as a necessary corollary, government control of travel, then the government would practically control the railroads. It is too great a task for any government to undertake to control the entire transportation system of the United States."

My proposition does not call for government control of traffic as a whole, but only for the forwarding of farm products. It no more follows that because farm products are to be forwarded through the Postal Department that travel is to be under control of government than it does when novels are sent that way at the present time. Even the claim that my proposition will entail the employment of more men in the postal service, is without foundation.

It costs more time and labor to expedite to its final destination a single issue of a large daily newspaper than it would the products of an entire county.

Take the mail order business of Wannamaker's, Macey's, Ridley's, Jordan Marsh, Marshall Field, Stern's, Altman, or my house, and the "transactions" are a thousand fold more voluminous and more complicated than farm products would be. Where the labor now in a Post Office is not already overrushed, they can handle the farm product forwarding without a single additional employe.

In purely mail matter—like letters—the government clerks are obliged to handle every letter several times, but in forwarding fifty bales of cotton to a single destination, the railroad companies' employes would load and unload as they do now, and at their expense.

"Pennsylvania College Monthly," Gettysburg.—Prof. P. M. Bikle, Dean, editor, in a communication, Sept. 28th, says: "If the principle of so-called 'Protection' is right, your plea is also right, as it is based on the same idea."

„Der Boston Telegraph.“

Montag, den 25. September 1893.

Herr D. Lubin von Sacramento, Cal., hat die Freundlichkeit gehabt, uns einen von ihm verfaßten, in der Sacramento „Record Union“ veröffentlichten Aufsatz einzusenden, welcher für einheitliche Frachttarife innerhalb des Gebietes der Ver. Staaten zum Verkauf kommenden Farmprodukte in die Schranken tritt. Mit anderen Worten: Ein Zentner Getreide, Fleisch, Butter, Käse oder irgend ein anderes landwirtschaftliches Produkt soll zum gleichen Frachttarife beispielsweise von San Francisco nach New York wie von ersterer Stadt nach einem einige Meilen entfernten Orte, befördert werden. Die Beförderung soll durch die Ver. Staaten-Post in der gleichen Weise erfolgen, wie jetzt durch dieselbe Briefe und Zeitungen befördert werden. Die Idee ist unzweifelhaft originell, als erste Bedingung für ihre Durchführbarkeit müßten jedoch die unser großes Land nach allen Richtungen durchschneidenden Eisenbahnen vom Bunde angekauft und verwaltet werden. Daß es hierzu schließlich kommen wird, bezweifeln wir nicht im Geringsten, ob dies jedoch noch zu Lebzeiten der jetzigen Generation geschehen wird, möge dahin gestellt bleiben. In Deutschland geschieht die Paketbeförderung bekanntlich durch die Postverwaltung und zwar besteht bereits seit Jahren eine einheitliche Tarife für alle Punkte bis zu fünf Pfund. Die Einrichtung hat sich ganz vorzüglich bewährt und ist jedenfalls auch sehr ausdehnungsfähig. Die Realisierung von Herrn Lubin's Vorschlag liegt dem Anschein nach wenigstens noch in weitem Felde, wir leben jedoch in einer raschlebigen Zeit, welche möglicherweise den in Herrn Lubin's Vorschlag enthaltenen Kern früher zur Reife bringen wird, wie es zur Zeit den Anschein hat. Jedenfalls sind Anregungen wie die vorliegende, der Beachtung und des Nachdenkens werth.

In commenting on the above, I beg to say that my proposition does not involve government ownership of railroads. A uniformly lower rate, if even in operation to-day, while it would mitigate would not overcome the inequalities of the tariff, nor compensate for the disadvantage of distance.

The concluding portion of the *Boston Telegraph's* article would have been more vigorously hopeful had the editor taken into consideration the fact that we have here a plan which is calculated to unite the farmer of the north, south, east and west into one solid political body, and these, together with labor (whose interests herein are identical), will make an irresistible political factor, than which none stronger can be evolved. Victory must crown the efforts of right, and the path of progress must not be impeded.

The *Ironton, Ohio, Register*, in a communication of Sept. 27th, says: "It will be a difficult thing to do, but not impossible."

"The Daily Northwestern," Oshkosh, Wis., in an editorial review in its issue of Sept. 28th, says: "The system of taxation now in use is the result of ages of experience and is probably as nearly equitable as any that man can devise."

Had the *Northwestern* lived in Abraham's time, and been Abraham, and had his father or the King at that time flung such logic at him, only changing the words "taxation" into "religion," and "equitable" into "true," all of us in all probability at this time would still have been praying to terra cottagods. Further on the *Northwestern* says: "If the fruit crop of California were to be handled by the government, then the fruit crop of Florida must be handled also, as well as the corn of Iowa and Nebraska, the wheat of Nebraska, the wheat of Dakota, the cotton of the South, the wool of the Western States, and all the farm products in the United States must be sent to market in the same way." You are right; this is just what my proposition calls for.

Towards the conclusion the *Northwestern* says: "It is about time our people learned that ours is not a paternal government." I beg to differ with the *Northwestern*, and ask its editor if protection to manufacture is not paternalism? If not, what is it?

Not alone is it paternalism, but it is unjust paternalism, because it enriches the manufacturer at the expense of the producer of staples.

Is this not true? And if it is true and unjust, must the injustice remain because it is ancient? But perhaps the editor is in favor of righting the wrong by free trade. Here, again, we strike a snag. Free trade would let loose several million destroyers, and after we got over the unpleasantness there would be a king. Well, let well enough alone! But we can't. "Well enough," as it is, brings granite and marble palaces for the great cities, and mortgages and ruin to the country, and that will bring a king—in a quiet way.

Washington and Jefferson did not give us a republic for peace sake, but for the sake of justice, and the sake of equitable freedom. There are no more peaceable men in the world than the fellahs and coolies, but then they are only fellahs and coolies.

The *National Advance*, Milwaukee, Wis., in an editorial review of Sept. 30th, says: "The plan will be carried out eventually, however, because it is the only practical way of transportation in a land that proposes to recognize the equality of all men. It places all on a perfectly equal basis, and wipes out distance in shipping freight."

I am afraid, Mr. Editor, you overleap the intention of the proposition. To place "all on a perfectly even footing," would place shovels and neckties on the same footing with wheat and cotton. But wheat and cotton are now taxed all they can bear (and more too) in protecting shovels and neckties, and it is intended to give wheat and cotton a portion of their tax back in the form of much lower transportation rates. This is not so much an endeavor to cheapen as to equalize, for an even cheap rate, in itself, would still leave us inequality and injustice.

CHICAGO, Sept. 28, 1893.

MR. DAVID LUBIN, DEAR SIR: You ask for the opinion of the *Chicago Herald* regarding your proposal that farm products be carried all distances at uniform rates, the same as mail matter, the national government controlling the business and bearing the loss, assuming that it would not pay.

It is the opinion of the *Herald* that the scheme is impracticable, and that even if it were practicable it would be most unwise to enlarge the functions of the government as proposed. The government is exercising paternal functions altogether too much now. It is the opinion of the *Herald* that the people should manage their own business, and that the government should limit its activities, so far as business is concerned, to the administering of justice.

Yours truly,

H. R. SMITH, for the *Herald*.

If this proposition is not "practicable" let us see the practicability of the *Herald's* position.

If the government is to cease exercising paternal functions it must open its ports to the world, and with one stroke remove the protective tariff. And as long as China, Japan, India and Egypt can supply an unlimited number of work people at from two to five cents a day, and the rest of the world at from five cents to one dollar a day, what law can the *Herald* point to that will give the American workman a higher wage as soon as the protective tariff is removed? Absolutely none.

Will he say, "we have machinery and skill?" Well, the Chinaman has demonstrated that he, too, can use machinery and acquire skill.

In the San Francisco shoe factories he will run a machine for one dollar a day—in China you can hire him for five cents a day. And he is neither lazy nor particular, will cheerfully begin before the stars have faded and stop for his midnight bowl of rice. No, Mr. Editor, we cannot do away with protection, even though you call it "paternalism." But because we dislike a name must we perpetrate and perpetuate an injustice? Suppose a man having two sons, one a spendthrift and the other prudent and economical, and these sons, children, depended on their father for support, both of an even age and equally well-beloved, the father giving them a certain allowance in common, the spendthrift unscrupulously and unjustly appropriating to his own use three-quarters of the allowance. The prudent son on complaining to his father receives the reply: "My son, in the concrete you are right. Your brother deprives you of a certain proportion necessary for your well-being; but in the abstract he is right, for being by nature a spendthrift his nature craves for more than his natural share. Shall I then attempt to meddle with the law of nature? Far be it from me to do this evil. Let nature take its course; bear your misfortunes with resignation." Now I ask the *Herald* to apply this parable to the law governing protection in operation to-day. Have we a parallel or not? If we have, then are not the producers of staples being robbed by protection as surely as the prudent son was? Answer!

Would you also argue over the evil as did the father the evil of the spendthrift's acts? Answer!

Shall not the prudent son teach the spendthrift a lesson? If not with argument, why not with a billet of wood? In the proposition under consideration, however, a paper ballot will do.

The Sun, Milwaukee, in an editorial review of the proposition, says: "In Great Britain the parcel post has been in successful operation for some years and has proved such a boon to the public that it would be impossible now to discontinue it. Persons living in London and other large cities, owning places in the country, have all their vegetables, fruit, butter, and eggs sent by the parcel post, thereby tending to distribute the wealth more evenly through the country. In winter, English drawing rooms are made bright by baskets of flowers that come from Nice and elsewhere in the south of France with punctuality and dispatch, on the same trains that convey the mails at almost incredibly cheap uniform rate.

The telegraph lines in most European countries are operated by the respective governments at a uniform rate for any message sent within their own country. In the Australian colonies where the railways are state property, as is also nearly all the land outside the large cities, it has been repeatedly proposed to adopt a uniform rate for the conveyance of passengers and agricultural produce—one journey, one uniform fare regardless of the distance traveled. There appears to be no reason why the State should not assist agriculturists to a more satisfactory and less expensive means of transportation for their products than now exists, and we advise those interested to support Mr. Lubin in his efforts in that direction.

Farmers' Tribune, Des Moines, Iowa, Sept. 30, 1893: "In answer to yours of 22d, asking for an opinion on your proposition to put freight shipments under like conditions to that of books in the Post Office Department, is a little novel and yet we believe practicable. Not only so, but we believe it would tend largely to equalize burdens, and to distribute life's blessings very much more equitably to all the inhabitants of the land. As to land exemptions, we could agree with you up to a limited number of acres occupied by any one family, but incline to the exemption of improvements on both those occupied by actual owners and also where tenants occupy. We are not in favor of fining any one for improving anything—rather let natural opportunities bear the tax and let man's effort go free. But at the same time, as you propose, let us discriminate in favor of the actual occupant. You are working toward better conditions. The people are thinking as never before, and out of it all will come a higher civilization.

H. F. Marsh, Editor Towanda, Pa., Reporter Journal, in a communication Sept. 29, 1893, says: "Your schemes for untaxed farms and freight distribution by the government on a postoffice basis, with no discrimination for distance carried, is ingenious, but I cannot believe it is practicable."

Why not?

"**The News,**" Scranton, Pa., in its issue of October 1st, in an editorial review, says: "In fact Mr. Lubin thinks that the government mail service should give the festive granger the same opportunities that are afforded the book-publisher and dry goods dealer. This point seems to be well taken. There is no reason why a branch to the postal service for the handling of produce should not be established. The fruit-raiser is certainly entitled to the same benefits at the hands of Uncle Sam that are accorded the publishers of lurid fiction and the metropolitan dry goods houses that flood the country with novels, catalogues, and merchandise generally, through the mails."

I take exception to the word "festive." If *The News* would send a reporter out west to interview the producers he would find it very difficult to discover festivity around about. Perhaps mortgages and unpaid interest may create "festive" spirits east; it does not here.

The Pittsburg, Pa., Press, in a review of the proposition, closes its article thus: "Without these equalizing methods there could be no more real equality under the Lubin plan than under the present system of each man doing the best he can for himself—the only guarantee of human progress."

The *Press*, perhaps, intended to say "with" instead of "without" in the beginning of the sentence. Each man being permitted to do the best he can is liberty. Now, let the *Press* answer how the producer of staples is permitted to do his best. Is paying for protection and receiving no benefit the best he can do? Does not the law compel him to do worse than he could do? Is this liberty?

Give back to staple production what it unjustly pays for protection, and you will but do him justice, and this is "the only guarantee of human progress." My proposition will do this.

Galen Oderkirk (formerly editor of the "**Industrial Farmer and Fireside,**" Toledo, Ohio), in a communication, says: "I am heartily in favor of it. I am now engaged in the practice of medicine instead of the newspaper above named, which I sold to be united with the *Toledo Weekly Blade*. I reside in Lansing, Michigan. A large percentage of the Wolverines will favor such a movement. It would be the grand thing to do for the relief of farmers. Whatever aids farmers, of course blesses all of us, and I am glad you have originated this proposition. Anything I can do to extend its influence and obtain legislation necessary to render it feasible I will gladly undertake.

C. M. Newton, Publisher of the Textile Manufacturers' Labor Weekly, Woonsocket, R. I., in a communication Sept. 27, '93, says: "Yours 21st at hand. That is a novel proposition of yours to move farm products as mail matter. It would most certainly benefit western farmers and New England consumers."

V. A. Lotier, Editor of the National Record, Danville, Pa., in a communication Sept. 29, 1893, says: "As a Populist, I indorse, in a great measure, your proposition."

Professor A. O. Reiter, editor of the "**College Student**," of Franklin and Marshall Colleges, Lancaster, Pa., in a communication dated September 28th, says: "I do not agree with you that agriculture is the basic foundation of lasting material prosperity. There was a day when that was the case, when farm products constituted the medium of exchange, and the products of the farm supplied all the wants of man. But that is centuries ago. To-day the basis of development is *labor*. Not farm labor, not labor expended in manufacture or the mechanic arts, not mental labor, but labor in all its departments. This being the case, I can see no reason why the farmer should have any special legislation any more than any other class."

Dealing with labor in the abstract you are right, but in the concrete you are wrong. The original source of wealth is the soil, or rather its products. The means of livelihood or the profit of an agricultural nation can be no greater than the volume and value of its products.

A manufacturing center may be established in the Sahara desert, and under it may flourish the arts and literature, provided they have a ready and profitable market for their manufactures. Not a blade of grass need be raised, and yet food may be plenty, as long as the demand for the manufacture lasts.

This nation, however, uses for its exchange with foreign nations her products, and not manufacture. And whenever the original producer receives a net return so meagre as to cause extreme caution in its expenditure, then he cannot afford to buy as many useful goods (and certainly none of the ornamental) as he otherwise would did his condition permit.

Now what is goods but labor?

When you thus limit his purchasing power you limit the sales of the merchant, and the merchant is compelled in turn to limit his orders. This curtails manufacture and wage earners are idle, and when this happens it affects the laborer, the editor, the minister and the butcher alike.

The cause of advance or decline having its rise in agriculture makes "agriculture the basic foundation of lasting material prosperity" just as long as we will export agricultural products and import manufactures. Therefore the proposition to ameliorate the condition of the producer is a proposition to ameliorate the conditions of all. It is progress.

E. B. Reed of "**The Black Hills Union**," in a communication, says: "The basis of your argument is sound. Material prosperity is an essential element of true progress, and agriculture is the basic foundation of lasting material prosperity. Your deduction is equally true, that it should receive prime consideration in legislative action conducive to its successful prosecution is apparent, but in reality we find other and less important interests much more carefully fostered."

The concluding portions of the communication suggest amendments and offer some objections, which are considered elsewhere in this pamphlet.

"**Virginische Zeitung**" of Richmond, Va., October 1st: "To cover these additional expenses of our government for the benefit of the farmers would compel a levy of new taxes against their fellow-citizens, who are not fortunate enough to belong to the agricultural class."

You are right, Mr. Editor, but only to a limited extent. The unfortunates pay but little taxes anyway, and yet this proposition is calculated to benefit them most.

The tax under consideration is mainly to come from those who are fortunate enough not to belong to the agricultural class. And this means a distribution of wealth in the direction calculated to enhance the price of labor by creating a steady demand for it.

The *Virginische Zeitung* will no doubt agree with me when I say that the manufacturer is not so much of a "boss" as he is a server, an agent.

Whenever he has an order his workmen fill it, and this is called work. Whenever no such order comes, then the manufacturer has no use for workmen, and labor is idle. What now is the cause of the order?

The merchant has a demand, and that demand, let us say, comes from the city people. The city people, from whom do they get the means to supply that demand? From the country people. Where do the country people get their means from? Where, if not from the net return of their products.

Now, if these net returns be so small as to prevent necessary expenditure, who suffers but the laborer? But we have manufacture as a means for labor, have we not? Yes, as a means, but not a source, and we will never have as long as our exports are agriculture. We will have as soon as we export manufacture.

But why subsidize agriculture at the expense of manufacture? Because manufacture is now subsidized at the expense of agriculture, by the protective tariff, and because the subsidizing of agriculture at the expense of manufacture will equalize what is now unequal. And as inequality is injustice, we cannot be unjust if we wish to be moral. And if we take from agriculture a portion of her just due we rob it of that just due; we destroy liberty.

Thus we find that the proposition advocated upholds political honor, the highest ethical standard, material prosperity, and above all solves the problem of poverty.

The "**Devils Lake Interocean**" (Dakota), in its issue September 30th, says: "A California man has evolved a novel idea in regard to the transportation of farm products. He wants the government to handle this class of freight and, as is now the case with mail matter, transport it all distances for a uniform rate. His idea has the merit of originality, and if the plan was adopted it would no doubt materially benefit California agriculturists."

And Dakota agriculturists, too, friend editor, and Massachusetts manufacturers, and New York workingmen, and Connecticut clergymen, and Ohio doctors. Will it not benefit everyone?

The editor of "The Dry Goods Chronicle," New York, in a communication dated September 30, says: "From where the article begins to treat of concrete facts and deductions therefrom, I think it extremely well expressed, very clear, forcible and convincing, and it is admirably adapted to meet favor with the farming classes to whom you address it."

Editor DeBerard mistakes my intention when he says that I addressed my article to the "farming classes." The proposition is presented for the consideration not alone by farmers, but by manufacturers, merchants, workmen, and those of the professions. In fact, to my fellow-citizens in every walk of life and in every section of our country.

A little further on the editor says: "But I must dissent from the deductions of the article as a whole, believing as I do that it is based upon false premises. Your main premise is that countries having cheap labor will control all industries into which that cheap labor enters, and drive from the race all countries employing high-priced labor in similar industries. Experience proves the contrary."

I beg to differ with the editor. I could easily demonstrate that my premise is not false, but so realistic in its truth that there is no proposition more certain of demonstration. Take the experiences of Chinese labor in California, for instance. Were there no check to its development, then by this time the editor would have been wearing a "Stetson" hat made by Chinamen, a Troy shirt made and laundried by Chinamen, and, if he smokes, a Havana cigar made by Chinamen; the type of his paper would have been set by Chinamen; his house servants would have been Chinamen. And, were our ports open to China, free and without hindrance or duty, for, say, 20 years, there would not, at the end of five years, be a single loom or factory of importance within the United States. The greater absorption of our industries in China than in California would follow by reason of a wage of ten cents a day for skilled Chinese labor in China, and a dollar a day to a Chinaman in California. Machinery? Experience has proven that, while the Chinaman is not an inventor, he soon learns to operate a machine as successfully as any one else.

A phase of economics would have our work performed at the cheapest rate, in order to receive it back in the line of least resistance in cost. But these economists forget that this mode would bring us a king, and place us on a level with China. This the free-trade economists deny, and point to the fact that the much lower price for commodities, even though the wage were lower than to-day, would buy more value than now; hence a greater degree of comfort would follow. In reply, we may say that there would be no comfort, but there would be a revolution of blood, and from out of chaos would emerge the iron rod of the tyrant.

If we receive a higher wage and pay a higher price, where, then, is our profit? Our profit over England is partly due to the fact that a much larger portion of our population are not compelled to pay rent, that there are a much larger number of land owners here; that we are not burdened, like England, with an enor-

mous national debt. We pay no expenses for queens, or kings, or lords, or a gigantic navy.

Our saving over Russia consists in our not having four million soldiers to feed and equip, and that we have no czar, or nation-consuming bureaucracy. We talk of high taxation; we really do not know what it means. In Vienna, in 1888, U. S. Consul Edmund Jusson informed me that the tax in that city was 50 per cent. And when we pay a wage of \$2 a day, we really pay \$1 a day for labor, and \$1 saving on taxes, and this we manage to do by the aid of the protective tariff. But were the tariff removed, the dollar for wages only would be paid, and the other dollar would go for soldiers to keep in subjection those of us who would wish to return to present conditions. The editor of the *Chronicle* may, of course, cite cases where American manufacture at high wages can yet compete with success against lower wage countries, and can give as examples, Waterbury watches, sewing machines, clocks, etc., which are exported and sold at a lower price than in the United States. Granted; but all this is trifling when compared to the vast volume that we cannot compete with, which even a hasty glance at the amount of our tariff revenue will show. And even the insignificant total with which we at the present moment compete may shortly be reduced, and totally so as soon as our machines have been imitated.

It therefore follows that my premises are correct; that "countries having cheap labor will control all industries into which that cheap labor enters, and drive from the race all countries employing high-priced labor in similar industries." And to counteract this tendency, a protective tariff is absolutely necessary.

Now, this very cheap labor of India, Asia Minor, Egypt, North Africa and Russia is the very thing that is driving our staple farm producers down to a degrading level, and this industry must in time utterly perish, or drag the wage-earning rate of all down to a degrading level. And in order to avert this, it is absolutely necessary to either abandon the raising of staple products, or to *protect* it. A tariff cannot do this, for it is not here a question of imports, but of exports. I therefore offer as a substitute mode of protection the postal system of forwarding farm products, practically allowing farm products its cost for transportation to its ultimate market, deeming this a sufficient check against the cheaper labor of foreign countries. The postal rate for farm products to be fixed at so low a rate as to make the cost but an infinitesimal factor.

This postal carriage of farm product, will it not involve the expenditure of an enormous amount by the government, which will entail increased taxation, and which in turn will bring a reduction of wages?

Is not this postal carriage of farm products an attempt at lifting oneself up by the boot-straps?

Yes, the expenditure will be vast, but it will not be a lifting one's self up by the boot-straps. It will be true progress, as I shall show.

The revenue required can be raised on import duty, and on internal revenue, and this tax is an indirect one, and as our pension list

will be growing smaller with time, our present appropriations for that purpose may presently be sufficient in itself (or nearly so) to cover the requirements.

The gain of the postal farm product system to the nation will be much greater than any necessary outlay, however; for, in the first place, it will remove all tendency of value fluctuations now so disastrously manifest at every change of an administration. Protection once established on an equitable basis, there would be no counteracting tendency of a free-trade party. And this factor once removed, there would be far less sectional friction, removing at the same time one of the principal causes of race hatred down south.

The provision of a greater net return to the producer would place at the initial source an available fund for the merchant, who would make use of it in supplying himself with additional merchandise. In other words, there would be a demand for more goods, hence for more labor of every description. It will also do away with the long-standing injustice of compelling the producer of staples to sell his wheat or cotton at Liverpool (India) prices, and compelling him to buy his shovel, his hat, or boots, at the American protective tariff prices.

I hope, Mr. Editor, that I have shown that my premises were not false, that they are correct, and that the remedy I propose will bring that state of equilibrium essential to the welfare and perpetuity of our republic.

“*Evening Wisconsin*” of Sept. 30th: “*The Wisconsin* thinks it is a populist nonsense.”

If the aim of “populist nonsense” is to bring about conditions which will increase the net earnings to the producer, to increase the demand for labor, to cheapen the cost of food to the consumer, to eliminate the cause for race hatred down South, to give increased business to the manufacturer, and to make his outstanding accounts securer—then the quicker the “populist nonsense” becomes a reality the better.

Is it not barely possible, however, that the *Evening Wisconsin* is mistaken in his bearing? The Populists want a host of things; for instance, women's rights, government railroads, free silver, greenbacks, in fact, a host of things, whereas the proposer of this proposition is—like the *Evening Wisconsin*—an ordinary straight Republican; but we seem to differ in this: I want protection, equal and just to the Massachusetts manufacturer and to the Louisiana planter. Now, as a good Republican the *Evening Wisconsin* agrees with me as to protection in so far as the Massachusetts manufacturer is concerned, but when we talk of doing the same thing for the Louisiana planter, he seems to sneer and mock with his “populist nonsense.”

The editor is politically self-possessed, and this may be through the result of repeated Republican victories, some of which were gained but with slight effort. But, sir, for the sake of argument, if you were asked the question, “Will the proposition herein advocated be favorably received by the farmers?” you would certainly answer “Yes, for they have nothing to lose by it and everything to gain.” Again,

“Will it be acceptable to the workingmen??”
 “Yes, for the same reason.” Now suppose the farmers and workingmen consent to lay aside every other question, but agree to unite on the proposition here advocated alone—which very likely they will—what then? Will not that union be sufficient to carry the measure? Certainly, it will.

You have here no “populist nonsense,” friend editor, but a demand for long-delayed justice. Is this not so?

“*The Port Huron (Mich.) Times.*”—The editor closes his review with: “The discussion of it (the proposition) at the present time would not bring about any good results.”

I fail to see why the “present time” is not as good as any other. Does the editor fear that because of the great multitude of the unemployed at the present time throughout the country, it is unsafe to discuss methods of wrongs and how to correct them?

If we fail in suggestions that may lead to reforms, may we not expect the Socialist, the Communist and the Anarchist to do the suggesting for us? Were we living in the sixteenth century, we could wait for “time” to find us an equilibrium. But we are living toward the close of the nineteenth century—a century when the proletariat can read, can write, can think, and when opportunity offers can do much mischief. And the mischief will certainly not be unmerited, if we can fold our arms in supposed security and quietly wait for an opportune time when we may begin to suggest a better way than the present. “I am not my brother's keeper,” said Cain, and may we not expect “our brother” to be our keeper unless we remove the barrier to his well-being? Do not think, Mr. Editor, that the writer of the above is an agitator, or an Anarchist, or a Socialist. My daily occupation is that of merchant, employing several hundred people, and in politics I am a Republican. Nor do I write because I wish my name in the papers; I have it in several papers 365 days in the year, and the novelty has worn off. I write because I believe I have a truth to impart for the betterment of my fellow-citizens, and for the good of my country, and I believe that the discussion of my proposition at this time will bring about good results. And you will no doubt agree with me when you give my proposition a further investigation.

“*The Deadwood “Independent,” Deadwood, S. D.,* in a communication, Sept. 29th, says: “I believe your proposition goes far toward solving the problem of the distribution of wealth. It is eminently just for this reason: By our vicious land laws millions of people have been driven so far from markets as to make their products practically worthless to them, owing to the great cost of transportation. What could be more just than that the government should reimburse them by taking their products to market at the same rates as the more favored ones who have been given possession of land nearer the great markets? It would put them nearer on an equal footing with their competitors and recompense them for being driven so far from the great populous centers.”

"**The Daily Palladium**" (Benton Harbor, Mich.), in its issue October 4th, says: "David Lubin, a citizen of Sacramento, Cal., proposes to make farming pay by having the government carry agricultural products to market as mail matter is now transported—at so much a pound regardless of distance. His theory is that under this arrangement farm products can be grown on the prairies of the interior as profitably as upon land adjacent to the seaboard cities, for it would cost no more to market a bushel of wheat in Kansas, or Texas, or California, than in New York. He would place this business in the hands of the government, exacting the lowest possible rates, as an encouragement to the farmer. His scheme has the merit, at least, of extreme novelty, whether practicable or not."

The editor of the *Palladium*, in addition to the above, in a communication says: "Something should be done to attract men toward husbandry, not to drive them from it. Perhaps you have hit upon an expedient that may prove valuable. I hope you have."

The American Israelite, Cincinnati, Ohio, in its issue of Oct. 5th, says:

"Mr. David Lubin, of Sacramento, in a long and carefully written paper in the *Record-Union*, recommends that as a sure foundation of national prosperity and for the equalization of the values of all farm lands, farm products be moved by the national government as mail matter at a uniform rate for all distances, which would no doubt be an excellent thing for the farmer, if it were possible to bring it about. How it would affect all other classes is another question."

There is no other question, Mr. Editor. Whenever the farmer is benefited—as you have admitted he will be—then the store-keeper must be benefited by selling more goods. which is followed by additional orders to the manufacturer, who employs additional work people to make the goods. Are not all benefited?

J. B. Shale, editor of the **McKeesport "Daily News"** (McKeesport, Pa.), in a communication dated Sept. 30, 1893, says: "There is no longer any doubt that the farmer should be protected, and that there should be some means provided by which farm products could be transported to market at a moderate cost. As to the feasibility of placing farm production on the same basis as mail matter, and have it transported on the different lines of railroad on the same system with the mail of the country, is worthy of considerable thought, and I would not feel like endorsing such a scheme until I had given it more careful consideration."

"Your ideas as to the tax being removed from all farm lands owned and worked by American citizens, seems to be in the right direction, although it would seem to me that such as road and school tax could hardly be abolished, but might be reduced."

"As a whole I consider your article novel, and worthy of careful consideration."

The Adrian "Messenger" (Mich.), October 2d, says: "If the plan could be made practical, it would certainly be far better than the present unjust transportation rates."

The editor of "**The Crawford Journal**," Meadville, Pa., says: "I am in favor of persevering until we find some plan which will make agriculture profitable to those who are industrious, intelligent, and manifest the same care and ability in conducting their affairs that men who succeed in other business do in theirs."

I am afraid, Mr. Editor, that you have pointed out an impossible task. That would be paternalism with a vengeance. The protective tariff, for instance, does it only protect "industrious and intelligent" manufacturers, or does it simply protect manufacture? The latter, clearly. And for the same reason it is just to protect agriculture as well, which you must admit (if you would be just) has an equal right to protection.

As to the plan, it is here, and we should persevere; or it is not, then why not?

The Bradford (Pa.) "Daily Era," in an editorial review of the proposition, says: "Of course if book transportation by the government at a loss is justifiable, then Mr. Lubin is correct."

No, Mr. Editor, the "book transportation" is not a parallel case. The forwarding or the non-forwarding of books involves no principle of justice, but the forwarding of staple farm products to their ultimate market does.

For it is intended by this means to pay back a portion of the loss sustained by the producer of staples for protection, which he receives no value for now.

The Era further says: "Granted the application to land products, and why not carry it onward to everything that administers to the comfort or luxury of mankind?"

Because everything produced "that administers to the comfort and luxury of mankind" is protected, but staple agricultural production has to pay the bill for protection out of its meager Liverpool price. Hence palaces reward luxury-producers, and mortgages are the penalty for yeomanry.

Justice, Mr. Editor, justice alone must prevail, if we are to continue to be a free people.

The editor of "**The Post**," Waupaca, Wis., in referring to my proposition, says: "Whenever a man sticks up for what he believes to be right, he is entitled to consideration and respect."

Just so, Mr. Editor. Now I hope that further consideration will cause you to believe in the righteousness of this proposition, and that when you will believe in it that you will stick to it, and then, Mr. Editor, there will be additional reason why you will be entitled to consideration and respect.

Providence "Journal of Commerce" (Providence, R. I.), Sept. 29, 1893: J. D. Hall, editor, in a communication says: "I have read with intense interest the article headed 'A Novel Proposition,' and I believe it possible to develop such a system of freighting agricultural products under control of the government, the price to be uniform for any distance within the United States. The columns of my journal will always be open to articles favoring this new movement."

From a Communication from the "Tribune" Publishing Company, Greensburg, Pa.: The facts pertaining to the agriculturist, that you note, must strike every one who cares to examine the matter as being forcible, but as to the feasibility of the proposed remedy we are not so sure. The transportation question is one of great moment, and any one who takes pains to enlighten the people thereon is a benefactor. The proposition is a novel one, to be sure, but may prove to be "the beginning of the end" of a plan to elevate the farmer, and equalize the heritage of God to man on his precious footstool. The farmers must assert themselves. More anon. Truly yours,

E. F. HOUSEMAN, Editor.

The Marysville "Democrat," in its issue of September 18th, in an editorial review of my proposition, as set forth in the *Record-Union* September 14th, seems to think that I made an argument for protection, but the *Democrat* failed to state what kind of protection. Now, Mr. Editor, I am not in favor of protection, nor of free trade, as it is to-day. What I am in favor of, however, is that equitable protection which will not alone bring fortune to the manufacturer, but do so without robbery to the producer.

"The Gazette and Chronicle," Pawtucket, R. I., Sept. 28th, says: "Your ideas are morally good; the only trouble seems to be their present impracticability. But no reform comes in a day or night, and you are entitled to hope for the future. There is no doubt that the necessities of life distributed in the manner you propose would do much more good than the present government system of distributing trash literature. Push the matter and get the press of the country to assist."

Mr. Geo. U. Harn, editor of **"The Daily Herald,"** Mansfield, O., September 30, 1893, says: "Your thoughts are novel and worthy the profound attention of the people. If you accomplish nothing more, you have succeeded in causing further discussion of the subjects uppermost at present; and free and general debate never fails to bring forth results best for the whole people."

"Southern Agriculturist," Montgomery, Ala.—Editor Thos. J. Key's letter says: "To carry the farm products long distances for the same price of short distances (as the general government will carry you this letter 2,000 miles, and yet charge the same as if it goes only 10 miles), is novel, and one that must be thoroughly investigated."

Says the Editor of the "Herald" (Sheboygan, Wis.): "Boil your article down to a stickful and we will read it; otherwise life is too short. I rather think it is a good idea, or at least to a certain extent, from reading a few lines."

I would like to accommodate you, Mr. Editor, if I could. Select a "stickful" from this pamphlet, and let me have your opinion for or against in time for next month's edition of 30,000.

Rufus J. Foster of the Colliery Engineer, of Scranton, Pa., in a communication Sept. 29, 1893, says: "Your proposition for the transportation of farm products is certainly a novel one, but I cannot see why the same facilities should not be given the products of the various coal and metal mines of the country as well, and if given to them why it should not be extended to the manufacturing establishments."

The reason why the same facilities should not be given to the "products of the various coal and metal mines of the country, also manufactures" is plain. These are protected; staple farm products are not.

The "Morning Olympian Tribune," in an editorial review of the Postal Carriage proposition for products, Sept. 23d, is of the opinion that government ownership of railroads would solve the problem. Would it? Would it equalize the burden of protection? If not, then government ownership of railroads cannot be a substitute for the proposition, but is another question and is in itself foreign in intent and conclusion from the issue.

Milford N. Ritter, publisher of Reading Weekly News, Reading, Pa., in a communication, Sept. 29th, says: "I have read your article with great interest. Your propositions seem to be practical, and I can see no valid objection to their adoption. The farmer to-day is more in need of legislative aid than any other class."

The New York Tribune, in a communication Sept. 27, 1893, says: "Your favor of the 19th instant, has been received. It will be brought to the attention of Mr. Nicholson, our Managing Editor, upon his return from his vacation a week or ten days hence."

A. J. Hazlett, editor of "The News," Bucyrus, O., in a communication, Sept. 29th, says: "Your clipping from *Record-Union* containing your article came duly to hand. I was delighted with it and shall take the liberty of publishing extracts from the same and sending you marked copies."

"The Times" (McKeesport, Pa.,) in its issue of October 2d, gave a lengthy synopsis in its editorial columns of the proposition.

The editor of the *Evening Clipper* (Colorado Springs, Col.), in a communication, favors the proposition.

The question has been asked, will not a great increase of production of staple products in this country lower the export price? There is little to fear on that score, for, vast as our territory is, it is hardly a factor when compared with the rest of the world. The price is more likely to decline whenever rent and wages decline in the cheap labor countries.

Quite a number of clippings and personal communications are omitted from this edition for want of space. They will appear in the next issue.

Distance Competition.

In the several replies to criticisms, I have, I believe, given ample reasons why the producers of staples should receive the benefits of the difference between present rates of transportation and the much lower rates should their product be carried by the U. S. Post Office Department; I have shown that this lower rate will be to them what the tariff is to the manufacturer.

I will now proceed to show why farm products of a non-staple character should also be forwarded the same way, and will give California as an example:

Let it be understood right here that I do not speak of California on theory, but from twenty years of practical experience. When the first fruits were marketed here there was a minimum quantity, and they brought a high price; by and by there came an average supply, and the prices lowered; after that came the maximum, and there was a glut and consequent loss. To overcome the loss the maximum was shipped east at \$800 per car. A minimum quantity reaching east, the price was high; the shipments increased and the price lowered; still enough, however, to encourage additional shipments, until a maximum was reached, and when that time came there was a loss.

The railroad company was petitioned to lower the rates, which they did to \$650 per carload, and the same experience precisely was passed through as before, until the loss became so grievous as to be almost classed as a calamity. The railroad was again petitioned, and after hard work a rate of \$400 per car was granted. And to-day California has again the maximum, again down to a loss.

The railroad company, however, now says that it will be useless to petition again, claiming that the rates are now as low as the company can profitably carry this product. Now, for argument's sake, if we take the company's word for granted, what condition have we here? What but retrogression? California, under this condition, must not alone remain stationary, she must do more. To save the loss, a sufficient number of trees and vines must be grubbed out, so as to reach the average, when a profit may be realized.

Supposing, however, that the railroad company reduces the price again say to \$300 a car—which from present indications it is not likely to do—the result will be the same as before, but the ultimate day of reckoning must bring California just where she is to-day.

The condition of arrested progress must go on until such time as the great hindrance is removed, and that hindrance is the great cost of transportation. Even government ownership of railroads (if run on cost) may reduce the gap, but may not be enough to effect a remedy. The only remedy is to eliminate the factor of ratio rate for distance, in farm products, as pointed out before. In other words, let the government transport farm products through its Post Office Department, paying the transportation companies the ruling rates, and charging the shipper a minimum rate of postage.

Will this system be just to New York or Rhode Island? Can these states afford to be taxed in order to have California reap the ben-

efit? Certainly they can, because they will more than make it up on the vastly increased orders for manufactured goods likely to follow from increased prosperity. At the same time, almost as much of the the benefit derived through the postal product system will inure to the greater number of producers in those much older states. Will not the vastly increased volume of production of the west going east, make the eastern producer's product so low as to render their productions unprofitable? No, for even if the price is lower, they too will save on the cost of transportation; and, in the majority of instances, there is scarce any interference, because the fruits and vegetables of the several sections mature at different times.

The real gainer would be the consumer, in buying at a lower price, and the producer, in receiving a higher net return. And the proportion of extra tax on the manufacturer would be more than offset by his greater volume of business, and greater security of his outstanding accounts, by reason of the steady prosperity.

Labor would be the greatest gainer in the steady and upward tendency of labor values, and in the greater demand for higher priced goods, requiring skilled workmen.

Should the tax even then be high, then even that can easily be remedied by taxing such wealth as is not productive, at a higher rate than now, and in a more rigorous vigilance in compelling present tax shirkers to make true returns of their taxable property. And there are ample means to bring this about, as, for example, the showing of the ledger, the amount of fire insurance carried, the commercial agency's rating, and the swearing in of the principals publicly in a court of justice.

In the case of bond or mortgage holders, or those having large personal property, in addition to the above, the estate in passing through probate, if larger than when given in during life, should be held for back taxes, and treated the same as smuggled goods at the custom house.

Tyranny? No. Honest men will not object to it; for the others, who cares?

Those of a conservative mind will no doubt object to the entire proposition, and cry "innovation," or "novelty," or "theory." Let them now answer me what other method they can offer for the removal of the great hindrance to progress?

If they say "progress will make a way for itself without artificial aids," then I will ask them, is not the protective tariff an artificial aid? Is not government itself an artificial aid? Is not the great social organization under which we live an artificial aid?

Remove artificial aid and we have savagery, as it is in Patagonia.

My intention, however, is not to quarrel with men of conservative mind, realizing that if once convinced that we have here the truth, they will at least offer no resistance to progress. And, perchance, the truth may so animate them with its high possibilities that they may become ardent advocates. And one ardent conservative can often make more converts than many enthusiasts.

This subject is not, however, to be dismissed



with a wise wink, a significant shrug, or an unthinkable metaphor. California is here, ready for her thirty million inhabitants; she has thus far only a million and a half; when shall she have the rest? Clear the track; give her the right of way with her products to market, and she stands ready for her millions.

Time enough? And why? Are there no millions of poverty stricken wretches east, and west, and north, and south? Are not the conditions as they are manufacturing the proletariat at a much more rapid rate than those who may be comfortable?

Change the transportation conditions so that the rate for distance does not consume us, and you can send us all the poor in the land, and the Pacific coast will absorb them all, and more too; and when, in the course of events, you eastern people come out to look for them, you will not find them, for their poverty will have vanished, never to return, as long as the conditions outlined are in force.

Impossible? Why? Suppose the truth is here? Think. D. LUBIN.

Postal Rates on Transportation.

About a week after my original article appeared in the *Record-Union*, my attention was drawn to an article in the September number of the *Engineer's Magazine*, on "Distance and Railway Tariffs," by James L. Cowles, writer on economics. It concludes as follows:

"An ideal transportation system," says Mr. E. Porter Alexander, in his 'Railway Practice,' 'would be one in which any shipper might sit quietly in his office and contract to deliver freight at any town in the United States, by referring to a printed tariff, which should show rates as uniform as the rates of postage and not exorbitant in amount.' This ideal system is the postal system, which makes the rate for the shortest distance, for any particular service, the rate for all distances, regardless of amount of business. It is reasonable, practicable, just. Once recognized and adopted as the law of motion in our great circulating system, most of the evils of that system will vanish like the mist before the rising sun."

The ideal system of Mr. Porter, even if realized, would not bring us a step nearer the proposition of establishing the equation between the amount paid and the amount received for protection by the producers of staples. It does show, however, that thinking men's minds tend in the direction of an enlargement of the advantages of the postal system in the carriage of freight at an even rate for any distance.

The question of a general reduction of rates, however, is not near as important as the one of a just and equitable distribution of wealth. Rates may be reduced to half their present cost, and unless an equilibrium is maintained, the net results would be the same, and in some respects worse, as an instance will illustrate: Some time ago the rates from New York to San Francisco, on hats, was \$6.30, on clothing and shoes \$4.20, and on millinery \$3.40 per hundred, and business was brisk. The rates were lowered to \$1.60, and yet in spite of this heavy reduction, business is dull. What is the cause? The farmers have no money, the ruling prices for products cause a loss, and, as cost

of transportation on products is the chief factor in the selling price, it would follow that the removal of the factor would bring a profit to the producer.

In other words we could restore the prosperous condition by advancing hats and clothing to the previously higher rates, if the saving could be applied to the reduction of cost of transportation on products, provided there was enough saving to make up the difference. Such an arrangement, however, would scarcely be just, for it would tax the merchant only and permit the landlord, the financier, and professional man, and the eastern manufacturers, who would supply him with additional goods, to share in a prosperity at the sole cost of the merchant. Besides, his competitive power with other sections would be diminished. But when this is done by a general national tax, then it is just to all. But this is a year of financial distress, and as soon as a normal condition is restored, the farmer will manage to get along all right. He may manage to get along, but not all right; for nothing can make him all right until you restore the equilibrium on the tariff, which he pays for and for which he receives no return. Please do not lose sight of this. In some respects the farmer is compelled to pay "all the traffic will bear." That is, in seasons of prosperity we graciously allow him to make a living, but when prices of products decline, he is allowed to go to the devil. Now if our sense of justice is blunted to the degree that we permit this wickedness, our sense of self-interest alone ought to convince us that this policy is destructive to all interests. Even a shrewd rogue aims to be just when it pays him better than roguery.

To what else, therefore, can we attribute the present unequal conditions, if not to stupidity? Must we continue this injustice because it is ancient?

A Study of the Census.

From an address before the California State Board of Trade, by General N. P. Chipman, of Red Bluff, Cal., entitled "A study of the census, showing how new population in California distributed itself between 1880 and 1890," I quote the following: "The table shows a large disproportionate gain in the cities and towns. The country has gained only 22.7 per cent., while the cities and towns have gained 77.3 per cent. Anyone familiar with the conditions existing in California will see that this is an unhealthy distribution of our increase."

The General might have added: "And this in spite of the fact that professional boomers were hired by land sellers and colony seekers, who scoured the emigrant boarding-houses of the eastern cities for colonists, and with headquarters in Europe, seeking out and persuading colonists to settle in this State."

The congestion of population in cities is not alone a fact in California, but it is a fact throughout the United States; and it will continue to be so until the time comes when farming can be made profitable. And the only way to make it profitable is to remove the hindering factor of distance, and cost for transportation of farm products. The postal system of farm product carriage herein advocated is the solution to this question.



California State Grange.

The receipt of the following telegram is acknowledged:

PETALUMA, CAL., October 3, 1893.

D. LUBIN, *Sacramento, Cal.*: State Grange invites you to deliver address, Wednesday evening, at 8 o'clock. Answer.

E. W. DAVIS, Master California State Grange.

To which the following is a reply:

SACRAMENTO, October 3, 1893.

E. W. DAVIS, Master California State Grange, *Petaluma, Cal.*: Your invitation received. Hope to be present, to bring before the Grange proposition for the permanent advancement of agricultural interests, possible and attainable.

D. LUBIN.

The address was delivered in accordance with above, and was confined to the subject of postal carriage of farm products at a uniform (and nominal) rate for any distance.

Thereafter the Grange appointed a committee of five, with instructions to examine further the details of the proposition and report back to the Grange their opinion as to its practicability. Not knowing that this was to have taken place, the writer was on his way home at the time the committee met in session.

On Monday, October 9th, the chairman of the committee handed me the following, being the report of the committee, as announced by it and adopted by the State Grange:

"Your committee, to whom was referred the proposition of D. Lubin, revolutionizing the distribution of wealth, farm products moved as mail matter, at a uniform rate for all distances, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to report that the subject is of too great magnitude and importance to receive such examination as its merits demand in the brief time at our immediate disposal. We therefore ask to be granted further time and to be permitted to consider the subject, with the hope of arriving at just conclusions, and report to the executive committee of the State Grange of California after the close of this session."

Signed by
E. GREER, CHAIRMAN.
S. F. COULTER.
GEO. OLYERE.
M. T. NOYES.
D. A. OSTRAM.

Special Committee of California State Grange, held at the city of Petaluma, Cal.,
1893.

opies of these pamphlets will be sent to each member of the committee before they hold their meeting. And the conclusion of the committee will be published as soon thereafter as practicable.

The editor of THE COMMONER AND GLASSWORKER (Pittsburg, Pa.) in a communication dated October 2d, says: "I have always the greatest respect for the man who makes an effort to change the present inequitable conditions."

The editor of THE POMEROY DEMOCRAT (Ohio,) in a communication October 6th, says: "I have read your article in the RECORD-UNION very carefully, and endorse your two leading ideas."

THE WISCONSIN AGRICULTURIST (Racine, Wis.,) in a communication October 7th, says: "There is no doubt if such a plan could be made to work, it would be of great value to the farmer."

If "it would be of great value to the farmer," it will be equally valuable to labor. These two elements politically united on this issue it becomes a reality.